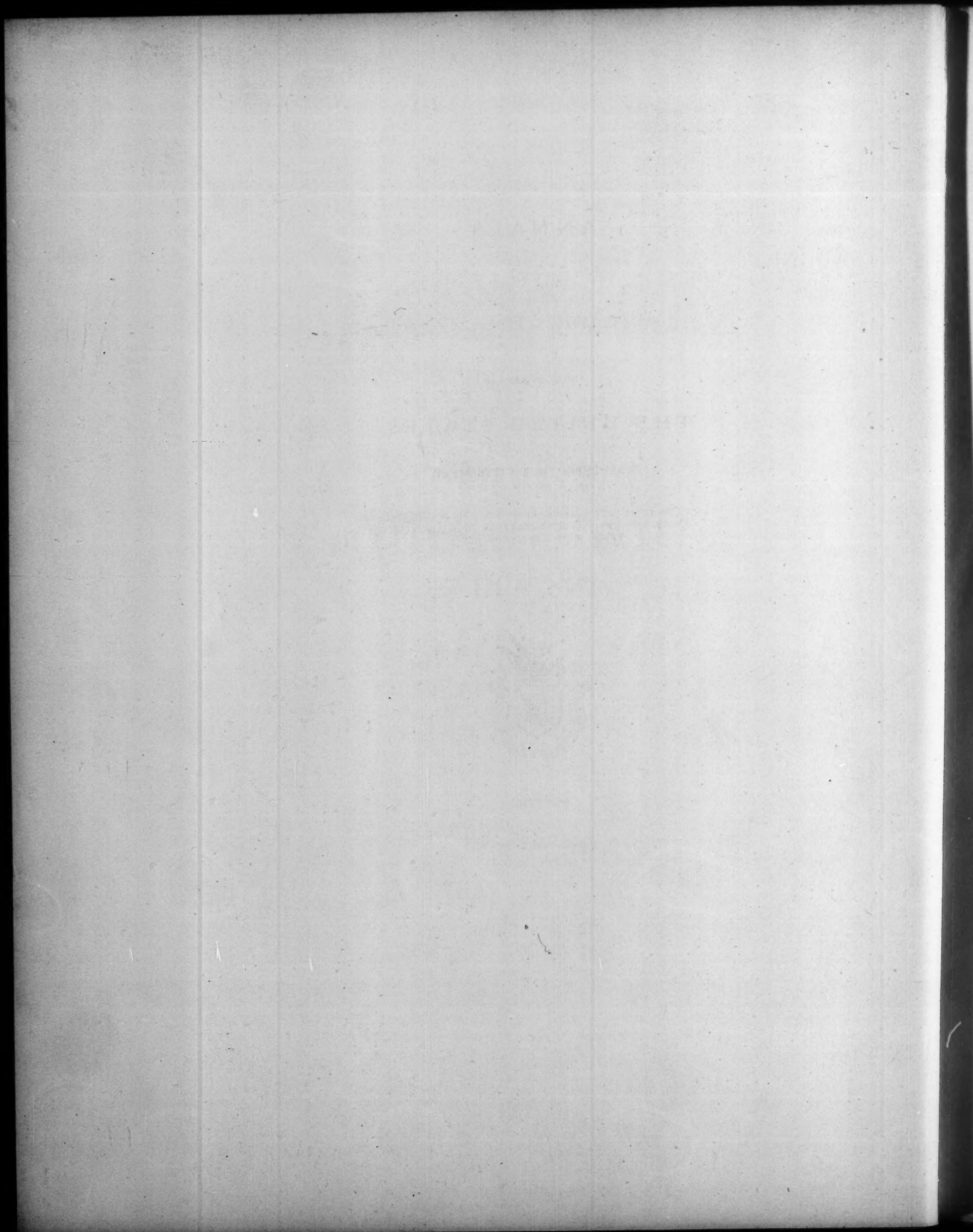


Woodward's
Historical Series.
No. VIII.



ANNALS
OF
Witchcraft in New England,
AND ELSEWHERE IN
THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THEIR FIRST SETTLEMENT.

DRAWN UP FROM UNPUBLISHED AND OTHER WELL AUTHENTICATED
RECORDS OF THE ALLEGED OPERATIONS OF WITCHES AND
THEIR INSTIGATOR, THE DEVIL.

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

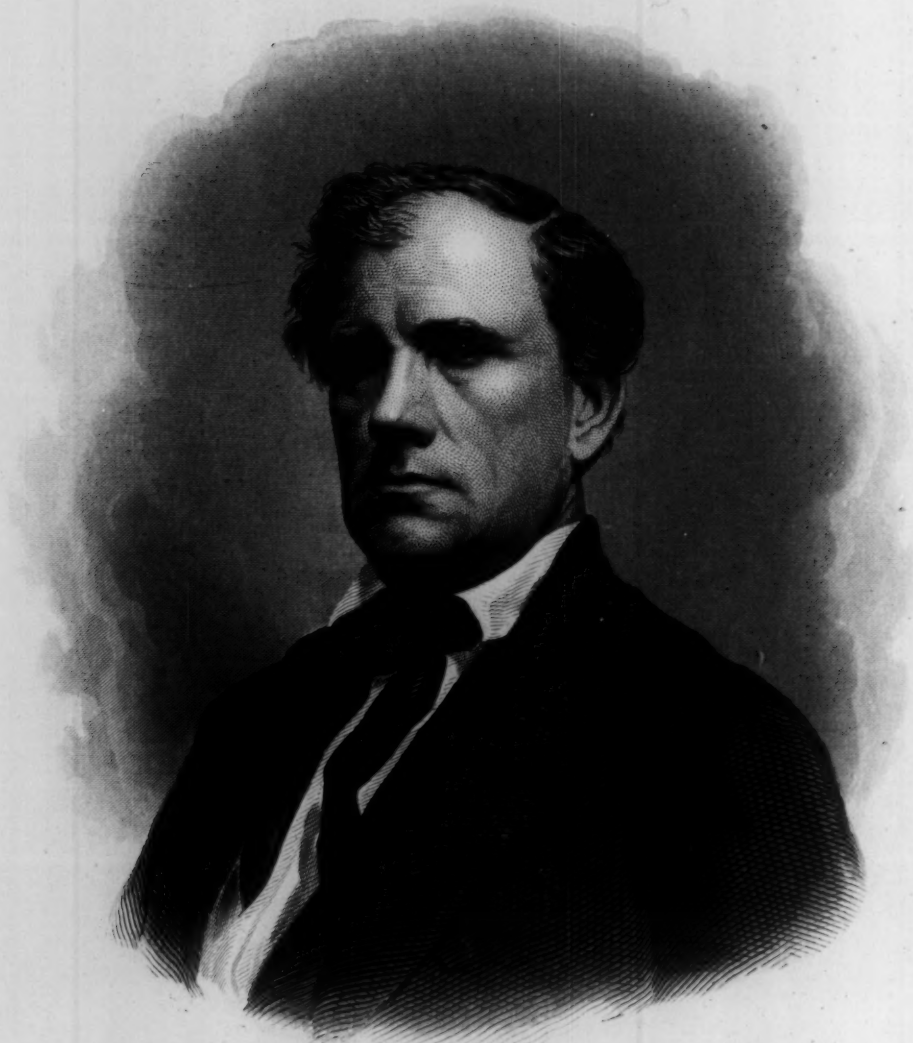


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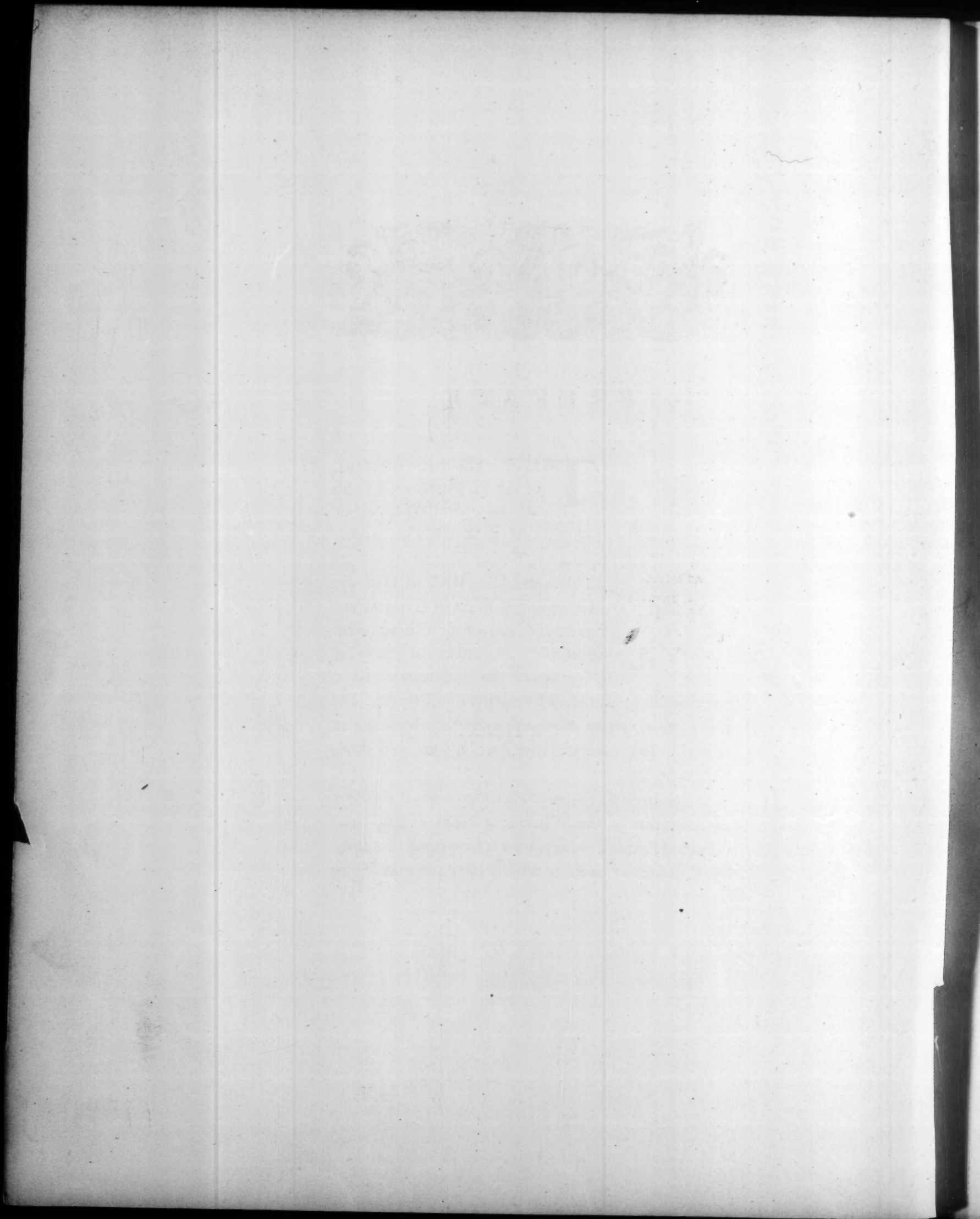
TO THE
HON. JOHN WENTWORTH, LL. D.,
OF CHICAGO,

ONE OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-
GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY,

This Book is Dedicated

AS AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS VALUABLE SERVICES
IN THE CAUSE OF RESCUING MATERIALS FOR
THE HISTORY OF THE FOUNDERS
OF NEW ENGLAND,

BY THE
AUTHOR.





P R E F A C E.



THIS is the first Attempt, so far as is known to the Writer, to collect together the Annals of Witchcraft in this Country. Like all first Attempts in an untrodden Path of History, this may fall short of Expectation in several respects. Those who look for a Succession of Tales of Horreur of the most terrible Kind may be disappointed, while others will rejoice that there are no more of them, and may be satisfied that the Tragedies are interspersed here and there by Comedies.

It has doubtless been a Question with all Readers of Accounts of the Witchcraft Cases which have occurred in this Country, how it happened that they were so similar to those which took place in Eng-

land. The Question is easily answered; in other Words the Similarity is easily accounted for. Witchcraft was itself imported by those who first practised it here, and was perpetuated by the Importers and their immediate Descendants.

Books on Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft were brought to this Country by the early Settlers. These were studied, and their Contents enlarged upon according to the Powers of the Imagination of those who were ambitious to appear wiser than their Neighbours.

So much Prominence has been given to what is called the *Salem Witchcraft*, that what had occurred in the Country before and since 1692 is, and has been, overlooked or almost entirely lost sight of. It will be seen by the following Work that it was a Part of the social Life of the People, and to them of the greatest Importance through all the earlier Periods of their History from the Promulgation of their Laws to the year 1700. The Question arises naturally, Why has the Subject of Witchcraft been passed over so lightly by the general, and almost entirely by the local Historian? It can hardly be supposed that they purposely omit those Details with a Belief that they will be forgotten, and the Reproach they occasion with them.

This would be a short fought Decision indeed. But the Affair at Salem has not been omitted. That has been a Peg on which to hang Reproaches against New England, early and late; as though it were the Corner-stone of all the Troubles of the Kind which ever happened in the Land. No Attempt will be made in Defence of that terrible Delusion, nor of those concerned in it; as that would be to defend a debasing Ignorance, the Progenitor of the more debasing Superstition.

It cannot but be acknowledged that those in Authority at that Day were men "fearing God," conscientious to the last Degree, and therefore felt themselves compelled to obey the solemn Injunction "not to suffer a Witch to live." Their Consciences would allow them no Alternative but to obey that Command; not entirely upon the Evidence of their own Senses but always with the Decision of twelve of the best Citizens of the Community where the Cases occurred.

If those who are so free with their Denunciations of the Proceedings of 1692 will reflect, they will find themselves in a Dilemma of this Sort: with Believers in the Injunctions of the Bible, or Disbelievers in them. The former obeyed those Injunctions, the latter evaded or disbelieved them.

The Inference is too apparent to need further Attention.

The following Annals have been derived from Materials widely scattered. I have thought for a long Period that such a Work should be composed, because there is, and doubtless always will be, a Desire to know what could be found upon the Subject, that might be relied upon as authentick. As to this latter Particular, it may be proper to state, that I have admitted Nothing into these Pages not well authenticated by Documents, and generally of the Time of the Occurrences.

It was my Fortune many Years ago, to come into Possession of a great Amount of original Papers, on a large Number of historical Subjects. Among them were many upon the Subject of Witchcraft, and Witch Trials. From these a very important and considerable Portion of the ensuing Volume has been composed.

It would seem from many Circumstances that the early Emigrants to New England were familiar with Books on Witchcraft, and doubtless some of them brought Works on that Subject with them; yet the Scarcity of all Kinds of Books and their high Prices at that Period in England would seem hardly to allow of their being common. A Cata-

logue of such Works as were extant at that Time would be one of very great Interest, but it would be too extensive for this Preface. References to many will be found in the Introduction to the *Witchcraft Delusion* published in 1866. The Work of the Rev. William Perkins, entitled the *Damned Art of Witchcraft*, Dr. Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft* (1689), Dr. Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* (1684), Mr. Richard Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits* (1691), and a *Trial of Witches*, before Sir Matthew Hale (1661), were perhaps the Works the best known to the People of New England at the Time of the Salem Tragedies. As the Work of Hale (written in March, 1661), was of the first Authority in England, and referred to here with unbounded Confidence, a brief Extract from it may be of Interest in this Connection: He says, "That there are such evil Angels [as Witches] it is without all Question. The Old Testament assures us of it, as it easily appears upon the Consideration of the Temptation of our first Parents; the History of Abimeleck and the men of Shechem; the History of Saul and the Witch of Endor; the History of Micaiah and the false Prophets; the History of Job; the Prophecy of

the Desolation of Babylon, wherein the Satyrs were to inhabit. The New Testament more explicitly and more abundantly clears it, by the History of the Temptation of our Lord; the Demoniacs of several Symptoms cured by our Lord and his Apostles; the Procession of the Evil Spirit, and his Return with seven other Spirits; the Vision of the Fall of Satan from Heaven like Lightning by our Saviour; the several Assertings of it in the Gospel and Apostolical Epistles; the Prince of the Power of the Air. It is also confirmed to us by daily Experience of the Power and Energy of these Evil Spirits in Witches, and by them." This, and a great Deal more was written by the Lord Chief Justice after he had presided at certain Witch Trials, in Pursuance of which Divers had suffered Death. The Substance of those Trials may be seen in *The Wonders of the Invisible World* as introductory to and Authority for those at Salem.¹ And as a further Bulwark against the Sadducees of that Generation, the Doctor adds: "The Venerable Baxter very truly says, Judge Hale was a Person, than whom, no Man was more backward to condemn a Witch, without full Evidence."

¹ See *The Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, I, 141-151.

The Work of Judge Hale above referred to would make a very suitable Chapter in the *Magnalia*; for his Relations of bewitched Persons are as astonishing as any contained in that wonderful Book; and their Reporter as implicitly believed them as did Dr. Mather those which he recorded. That Judge was more regarded in New England than any other as Authority, because of his great Piety and Purity of Character; and while these Qualities are not denied him in this Age, his Weakness, Credulity and Stupidity are quite as apparent.

I will notice a few other Works in this Place upon the Subject of Witchcraft.

As late as 1715, a Work in two handsome Volumes was published by well known Booksellers in London, entitled *A Compleat History of Magick, Sorcery and Witchcraft*. These Volumes were in the duodecimo Form, and contained above five hundred Pages, close Print. From the Contents one would hardly be led to suppose that the Reality of Witchcraft had to that Time ever been questioned by Anybody, except Infidels. It embraces all of those numerous Trials and Executions in England with the same Complacency and Satisfaction as Dr. Cotton Mather detailed those

of New England in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*. In fact, it embraces an Abstract of that Work also. These Volumes were printed for E. Curll, at the Sign of the Dial and Bible, J. Pemberton, at the Sign of the Buck and Sun, opposite St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street; and W. Taylor, at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row; and whoever has recently visited Fleet Street might have seen the beautifully symmetrical old Dunstan, founded some 760 Years ago, upon which Curll and Pemberton daily looked, and which is likely long to remain for others to look upon, there being no Back-Bay in London into which to send the Churches of that ancient City.¹

There were not many Works written, or if written were not published, exposing the Belief in Witchcraft, until a comparatively late Period of the Delusion. There were two Reasons for this. One was there were comparatively few who did not believe in it, and the other was the Danger of losing their Standing in Society, and being exposed to Persecutions of every Kind.

¹ The Writer has no Objection to urge against the People of Boston for wishing to have all their Churches on the lately filled Quagmire. If they desire to remove their Churches there, and to go and live there themselves to get away from their less opulent Neighbours we recommend those Neighbours to allow them to enjoy their Solitude.

I have shown in the Introduction to *The Witchcraft Delusion* that there was one Man in England who successfully battled against it, while at the same Time he believed in it, or pretended to believe in it, as the only Course then safe to be taken. This was Sir Robert Filmer. He preceded Mr. Calef, but Mr. Calef does not seem to have been aware that such a Champion was in the field. Cotemporary with Filmer was JOHN BRINLEY, GENT, who published a Work with this Title, *A Discovery of the Impostures of Witches and Astrologers*, London, Printed for John Wright, at the Crown on Ludgate-Hill, and sold by Edward Milward, Bookseller, in Leitchfield, 1680. This is a small 16mo of 127 Pages, dedicated to Sir Brian Broughton of Broughton, Baronet, dated Brockton in the County of Stafford, Nov. 7th, 1679.¹ Like Filmer, Brinley believed or pretended to believe in Witchcraft. His first Chapter opens thus: "An Owl, an Hare, and an Old-woman, was anciently the Emblem of Superstition; and truly if we shall diligently search into the Causes of this Error, we shall find that Ignorance, and Dotage, vain Hopes, and foolish Fears, ground-

¹ The only Copy of this curious Friend GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq., of Book known to me belongs to my Hartford.

less Expectations, and casual Events have been the Springs from whence this Folly proceeds, which is the Mother of all these Omens and Prognostications."

This is a good Common Sense Opening to his Work. I will in the next and last Place give an Example of the opposite Sort. His fourth Chapter is thus headed: "That Devils may do Mischief to Man or Beast, without any Association with Witch or Wizard." He then goes on: "Though we do not deny, but shall hereafter prove, that there are Witches, and Necromancers, and such Persons as make wicked Contracts with the Devil, to the Ruin of their own Souls, and the Prejudice of others; yet it is most certain, that the Devil often does much Evil of himself (by God's Permission) without any Association with any of his forementioned Instruments." It is unnecessary to extract further from this Author, for his Attributes of the Devil do not differ materially from what is laid down by Dr. Mather; both of which it may be said have "whipped the Devil round the Stump," quite sufficiently.



A

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION

UPON

Matters connected with Witchcraft.

As the Mists clear up from the Mountains, so is Ignorance, the Parent of Superstition, forced from its benighted Places. In the one Case the Mists of the Valleys loose their Hold as Cultivation advances; hence they escape to the neighbouring Elevations, and even there are forced gradually to recede, and so by Degrees finally disappear. But the Mists of Superstition, hanging over the human Family, have not yet been entirely dispersed by the Sun of Education and the unerring Teachings of scientific Discoveries.

That Superstition oppresses the World at large, even to this Day, cannot be disputed, and the Prospect appears small that it will ever be otherwise. While it is true that, in remote and thinly settled Regions its Reign is more supreme than in compact and cultivated Communities, it is equally true that it has a Hold here, not a little surprising

C

to those accustomed to contemplate, and allow themselves to view Mankind as they are. There is Antagonism between Reason and Superstition; a Warfare which has continued for Ages. And it must be conceded that, upon the whole, the Victory is still with the latter. Science and its true Votaries repose with their Armour on, have gained the Victory for themselves, thrown up their limited Breastworks, and said to their Enemy on the mountain Slopes, "We have no Intention to dislodge you. We know you are numerous and a great Power in the World. We will uphold your Supremacy, allow your Flag to be flaunted over us and in our Faces even; but we have the Satisfaction of knowing your Pretensions are false, and that your Empire must come to an End."

It is thus that an Empire founded in Intolerance, is submitted to by its less powerful Neighbour, under the false Conclusion that its Assumptions and Superstitions are necessary Evils; and therefore while knowing their Rights dare not maintain them; because those Rights are declared unpopular, and subversive of established Customs—Customs founded in, what now must appear to all who think without Prejudice, a most transparent System of Deception.

The unexampled Efforts to hold the World in Ignorance, and the vast Amounts of Treasure expended to propagate and maintain false Opinions, may safely be said, to be sufficient to have, ere this, educated the enslaved Millions past and present, in Truths of the first Importance to the Stability of Nations, and the Peace and Happiness of all People.

But whoever hopes or expects to abolish or annihilate Antagonism, may hope and expect to the End of Time. It is a Principle in Nature, and can no more be annihilated or obliterated than any Principle in the material Universe. There is Nothing without it, because Nothing can exist without it. And when it is fully understood, Nations and Communities may work together for the general Good of all; as it keeps the Planets in their Course, and all Things in their Places upon and around them. The same Principles exist in the animate as in the inanimate World. Their Operation or Action in animal Life may be termed *Spirit*, and the two antagonistic Principles here, being as essential as in inanimate Nature, and being as little understood, are denominated *good* and *bad*; which attributes depend entirely on their Management as respects their Agency. Thus, Fire and Water are, in

certain Conditions, terrible Agencies, and being strikingly antagonistic, serve to illustrate the Theory. They may be said to be the Origin of every Good and every Evil. They largely enter into the Composition of all Bodies. It is the antagonistic Principle that keeps them there, and they fall asunder by the Action of other antagonistic Agencies, as incomprehensible as those we have just mentioned. Whoever pretends to comprehend or explain them is either deficient in mental Endowment, or is a Pretender and Deceiver.

A Power actuates Humanity, or Powers, if we please, but of which we know no more than of that which causes the Sun to rise. This Power is Life, and into this enters the antagonistic Principles. This we know, because, we at the same Time are conscious of two Motives in our Mind at the same Time; one urging the Performance of an Action and the other resisting it. The Minds of intelligent Beings thus circumstanced gave rise to the Idea among primitive People, that these two Motives were caused by a good and an evil Spirit. If, in following the one, the Result was to all Appearances, to the Injury of no one, but on the Contrary, resulted in Benefits to some, it went to the Credit of the *good* Spirit; while, if the Result was injurious,

it was pronounced Evil, and the Performer a *Do-evil* or *Devil*.¹

Another View may be taken of the Powers of Actions: What may appear as an Evil under some Circumstances, may, under others, be pronounced Benefits. Hence arises the Saying that what is good for one Person may be bad for another; or, according to the Proverb, "It is an ill Wind that blows good to no one." Sailors once thought, that, when Winds kept them long from their Course, they were caused by some evil Spirit; and they sometimes charged one or more of their Number as the Authors of such adverse Wind, laid violent Hands upon them and cast them into the Sea. His Executioners did not reflect, that the Wind against which they were contending, was carrying those bound in the opposite Direction to their desired Haven. Neither did they reflect, that if a Mortal could control one of the Elements, it would be singular indeed if he could not control others, and thereby render their Efforts of no Avail.

At the Time New England began to be settled the Belief in Leagues with the Powers of Darkness by frail human Beings was nearly universal. The

¹ This may not be according to Purpose.
the Lexicographers, but it suits our

Power or Principle before spoken of seems to have found no Place in the human Intellect. Education was controlled and shaped according to the Dogmas of the dark Ages. It is still in a great Measure under the Pressure of that Incubus. So wedded do Men become to Absurdities, because they are sanctioned and believed by their Predecessors, that they seemingly become a Part of their Natures. And, Deceptions practiced in an Age of almost heathen Darknefs, which would not gain a Moment's Credence in this Age, are clung to with as much Faith as they were by the weakest Minds in the Age of their Creation.

As the all-pervading Principle of the Universe could not be understood, its Mystery was pretended to be solved to a certain Degree by dividing it into a good and a bad controlling Power. There was, and is to this Day, among unenlightened People, opposite Opinions held, as to the controlling of those Powers. Some believe that natural Phenomena, as Earthquakes, Thunder, and all other threatening Disturbances of the Elements are the Work of evil Spirits. Hence that Cause was to be worshipped, and Sacrifices made to it to propitiate it; hoping thereby to avert the Evil from themselves.

Plagues, Tempests, Inundations, and indeed all Occurrences unexplainable by human Sagacity are Miracles. Science, however, has diminished their Number, and rendered many natural Results, formerly viewed as Miracles no Miracles at all. When a Town or City was swallowed up by the Opening of the Earth under it, and all its People cut off by it, those of other Places tried to persuade themselves that it was not their Lot to meet such a Doom, because they were a better Community! Such Events were in the Mind of the great poetical Philosopher when he wrote the following transcendently beautiful Lines:

“But errs not Nature from its gracious End,
From burning Suns when livid Deaths descend;
When Earthquakes swallow, or when Tempests sweep
Towns to one Grave, whole Nations to the Deep?”

Another has beautifully expressed himself thus:

“Think ye that they on whom the Ruin fell,
Were worse than those who lived their Fate to tell?”

Thus, in all Ages and in all Countries Superstition held Mankind in those dismal Fetters, until Science by Degrees has partially relieved them. It had not made such slow Progress but for the inherent Love of Mystery so firmly enthroned in the human Mind. Nor is it strange that it is

thus, because the Birth of all Things is a Mystery — a Miracle if you will — to every one. Our Being and the Being of all Things are equally so. No primeval Forests of a new World are necessary, by their gloomy Silence to engender indescribable Forms, in the Imagination. The Countries whence our Ancestors came had few of these. Lonely ivied Ruins and Solitary Depositories of the Dead they had indeed, if such were necessary to the Propagation and Production of Witches, and their kindred Ghosts and Apparitions.

Strange and contradictory Notions have always prevailed regarding the Being, Powers and Agencies of Witches; and in the Attempts of "Believers" to explain them, they have by their Contradictions, and Assumptions of Things as Facts which had no Existence except in their disordered or confused Brains, confounded the Understandings of those whom they pretended to enlighten.

Such a Class of Instructors has written numerous Works on the *Origin of Evil*, and *Original Sin*. If by such Books they have advanced Knowledge a Hair's Breadth in the Direction intended, it may perhaps be found exhibited in the more modern Essays of a transcendental Character. If these or those Writers have made the World better, they

have certainly taken a round-about Way for it; and with the same Kind of Teachings it is quite certain that much Time will elapse before the People "of the most enlightened Country on the Globe" will be sufficiently enlightened to distinguish whether a Man will make a good or bad chief Magistrate of a Town or of the Nation; yet, with such Light as is supposed to surround a Centre of Intelligence, a most contemptible Demagogue may succeed in obtaining what had hitherto been deemed a high Position, but by him so degraded that it may be a Question whether the Position will confer Honor on a Successor.

It is evident that when our Ancestors left the Shores of England, they did not leave behind them the Superstitions of their Progenitors. From the remotest period Stories of the most marvellous Character had been transmitted from those of one Generation to the succeeding one, and there does not appear to have been any Time when the World was free from the Visitations of what was termed Witchcraft. There was indeed a short Period after the Settlement of this Country that little seems to have been heard about it. This Paucity was doubtless owing to the Circumstance that Everyone had too much to do to provide

himself with the Necessaries of Life, to allow his Mind to dwell on Matters, which, if closely followed up, could lead to Nothing but Poverty, Starvation and Ruin.

Yet all through those few Years between the coming over and the first Outbreak of Witchcraft, it was smouldering among the People, like the internal Fires of the Earth preparatory to a volcanic Eruption.

It appears that the People of the New Haven Colony were the first to be disturbed by "the Powers of the Invisible World," but the Records of the early Affairs are very deficient, and afford but an imperfect Insight into them. The early Enactments of Laws against Witches were occasioned by Accusations of Persons believed or pretended to be such. Of this there can be no Doubt. But no Records of Accusations appear previous to the Laws, notwithstanding they were the Occasion of such Laws.

As early as 1642,¹ the Laws defined eleven Crimes punishable by Death. The Second in

¹ It is scarcely necessary to state that all the Proceedings against Witches in England and this Country, were in Pursuance of the Act passed by the British Parliament, in Compliment, (as De Foe says) to the King's Opinion of Devils and Witches, and to the Book he wrote, entitled *Demonology*, reprinted in London the same Year (1603.) See *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, I, xliii.

the Series reads, "Yf any Man or Woman be a Witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar Spirit, they shall be put to Death." This is agreeable to the thirteenth and sixth, seventeenth and second of Deuteronomy, and Exodus the twenty-second and twentieth. No Person, therefore, could have the Hardihood to open his Mouth to question such a Law. To define what was meant by Witchcraft and what were the Attributes of a Witch, Refort was probably had to Books on Witchcraft, as there does not appear to have been any generally settled Idea or acknowledged Standard for Definitions of any Kind, though it is true that Dictionaries of the English Language, or rather of many (for there was no Completeness to them) English Words had been published a few Years before the great and final Outbreak of 1692-3. Hence we are told, that People had different Opinions about Trials, and Statutes on the Subject. We are told too, that many saw the Danger of Proceeding in Trials of the accused, but that none had the moral Courage to oppose such Proceedings; for the Few in Authority were viewed as infallible by the great Body of the People. To deny the Authority of Rulers was next to a capital Offence. The Courts did not

have the Sanction of Lord Chief Justice Hale, for his *Matters of Fact concerning Witches and Witchcraft* was not printed till 1693, and its Licence is dated May 18th of the same Year.

It is a pitiful Extenuation of the Acts under Consideration, that they were those of pious and good People, but there seems to be nothing better to offer. That such Men as Robert Burton, Lord Bacon, and Joseph Addison believed in Witchcraft; and that Sir William Blackstone "quite frowned" on Disbelievers in it,¹ and that Dr. Samuel Johnson "more than inclined to the same Side," only proves, that however great (in common Estimation) and learned a Man may be, these are no Guaranty that his Intellect may not be too shallow at some Points to afford a Footing for common Sense. Even the great Sir Isaac Newton, although he may not have come in Contact with Witchcraft, was as superstitiously inclined as many other great Minds of the Time in which he lived. Perhaps he might safely be classed with the learned Cudworth, with his

¹ Judge Blackstone's Opinion, as given in his Commentaries (iv, 60, ed. 1775), on the Laws of England amounts to about as much as did that of Gen. Jackson, as to the Genuineness of a Bank Note, as related by Major Downing. The Major states

that having a Bill, the Genuineness of which he was unable to determine, took it to the General to get his Opinion. After considerable Scrutiny, the Sage replied, that he thought *it was about middling!*

three kinds of Fatalism, who maintained that those that did not believe in the Existence of Witchcraft were Atheists. But they lived in Times when the absurd Opinion prevailed, that Beliefs were subject to the Bidding of those in Authority; and to this Day, wherever the Minds of the People are under these Shackles, human Progress is kept in Abeyance.

The Delusion was not confined to any particular Sect in Religion, but it prevailed about equally among Catholics, Protestants, and the Aborigines of all Countries. It is probable, however, as is elsewhere remarked, that it flourished most where Ignorance prevailed, to the greatest Degree.

It is said, that after the famous Bull of Pope Innocent the VIII, in 1484, dooming Witches to Death, the Numbers that suffered surpasses all rational Belief. It became a Reign of Terror in every Land. None were safe, but every Moment of their Lives were liable to be seized and hurried before Judges, and the vilest Fictions given in and received for Evidence; all of which, by calm and rational Investigation, would generally be found to have had its Origin in some private and childish Quarrels among Neighbours, or in the Brain of some Individuals whose Reason had been wrecked

by Causes beyond the Power of those professing "Chirurgery" to understand.

But whoever has attended at all to the History of the Progress of human Intelligence, knows that no Section of Country can claim an Exemption from having been, at some Time, under the humiliating and combined Powers of Ignorance and Superstition. Yet, as Communities advanced into the dim Light of Knowledge, some came accidentally in Advance of others. If this Advance happened to be owing to Circumstances not controlled by superior intellectual Endowments, it would show a Want of Civility for the more fortunate to taunt the less so by Flings to remind them of a former degraded Condition, from which themselves had just emerged. We remark this, because many Writers and Speakers refer to the Delusions of 1692, and 1693 as though they were the first, last and only ones ever known in all the World. Hence many imagine that Salem was worse than Sodom; while the Truth is, the mournful Calamity of Witchcraft neither began nor ended at Salem.

Some of the same Class of Writers of the present Day, if not infidiously, ignorantly speak of "Witchcraft among the Puritans," as though it was Something peculiar to that Sect; although

they may not intend to give that Impression, it will nevertheless be inferred by casual and superficial Readers. It should be expressly stated that the Delusion came to an End only by the Light sent forth by that much abused Denomination.

It is not a Custom among the most enlightened to harp and ring Changes upon Puritans and Witchcraft. It favors of the Times succeeding the Restoration of the Stuarts, in the Person of Charles the Second. Writers then pointed to the Cromwellian Period as that in which Witchcraft flourished more than ever before, which only betrayed their Ignorance of its previous History.¹

The amiable and excellent Dwight remarks to such as are here spoken of, "the early Settlers of New England have been accused of Superstition. In some Degree justly. To what Nation is it not applicable? Their Descendants hung the Witches at Salem, and for this Conduct merited the severest Censure. Still the New England People were as little stained with this Guilt, as those who with as little Indecency exult over their Faults and Errors."² It might be well to inquire what Class of

¹ Sycophantick and bigoted Lloyd, gives Currency to a Story about the Declaration of a Witch, in Favour of the Proceedings of the Republicans.— *State Worthies*, Page 209 edition 1668.

² *Travels in New England*, I, 135.

People it was who "indecently" exulted over the Faults and Errors of the Puritans of New England? That Question has been answered so triumphantly, and handled so masterly by the accomplished Dr. Bacon, that if the Revilers of the Puritans will read it with Candour, it would seal their Mouths forever.¹

Elaborate "Chronicles" and "Histories of New England" have been written without noticing the Troubles of the People occasioned by their Superstition and Belief in an Agency of the Devil. As well might a History of the Country be written leaving out what a Belief in Christianity has done.² And yet, from Intimations like the following, we see what Terrors our Ancestors lived in, and by which their Advance in all intellectual Improvement must have been greatly impeded: "I could with *unquestionable* Evidence relate the tragical Deaths of several good Men in this Land attended with such *præternatural Circumstances*,"³ as that of Mr. Philip Smith.

To those who wonder that People ever believed

¹ *Thirteen Historical Discourses*, 33, &c. we judge by the Absence of any Reference to the Subject in their Indexes.

² Neither Young nor Palfrey has taken any Notice of Witchcraft, if

³ Mather, *Magnalia*.

in, and prosecuted supposed Witches in New England, we recommend them to inquire if there be not yet those labouring under a Superstition themselves, equally reprehensible for the Times in which they live.

By many it has been urged in Extenuation of what was done in New England in Respect to Witchcraft, that it was much worse in every Country of Europe at the same Time and long after. Let that Consideration excuse us as far as it may; while the Consolation thus afforded is the same as in a Case of Loss to a Man who had learned that his Neighbour had been equally unfortunate; or, to console ourselves we had found out that Ignorance and Superstition prevailed to as great, if not in a greater Degree, in Europe, than in New England. Thus Dr. Cotton Mather brings forward several Cases of European Witchcraft as a Sort of Palliative for those in this Country. Certainly if European Examples are any Excuse we have enough of them. For the Remark of Hutchinson will, on Examination be found to be true, namely, that "more had been put to Death in a single County in England, in a short Space of Time, than have suffered in all

New England from the first Settlement to his Time."

No Matter what has been done elsewhere. It excuses us in the same Way as we are excused for having Progenitors, born in a Country where it was Infidelity not to believe in Witchcraft. Viewing the Matter in this Light, we find a western Bishop indulging in Sentiments like these: "We can scarcely even guess, why it was that the Witches took so remarkable a Fancy to the early Yankees. Whether it was that there was some secret Congeniality of Feeling between the two, or that the Devil envied, and sought to mar by his diabolical Incantations, the extraordinary *Sanc-tity* of the Pilgrim Fathers, we know not." Then, after copious Extracts from that Part of Dr. Mather's *Magnalia* devoted to Witchcraft, this model Bishop flippantly, and doubtless satisfactorily to himself, proceeds: "Verily, if all these Things be true, we must admit that the Demons were particularly intimate with the early Puritans of New England; rather more, in Fact, than was at all comfortable for the Latter. Shrewd and calculating as were the early Yankees, the Imps who played such fantastick Tricks among them, were much shrewder. The invisible Spirits knew

their Trade much better than to try wooden Hams or Nutmegs, or to attempt the impossible Task of overreaching their Friends in a Bargain."

When such are the Inculcations of a south-western Head of the Church, we ought not to expect Anything but ruffianly Treatment when any of us of New England happen to travel into that Region. We are sorry to observe that this Bishop bears a New England Surname, yet he may never have seen the Country of which he so sneeringly speaks, while he may know by this Time, that to such *Apostles* as he, is mainly attributable the bloody Scenes of a four years' Rebellion.

It is not so strange that ignorant People should be found even in great Cities wallowing in Superstition, and believing in the Reality of Witchcraft; but that Men accustomed to literary Society should be the Dupes of such Absurdities amidst the Means of daily Improvement, is not so easily comprehended.

In all Periods of History have appeared Prophets, or Pretenders to the Ability to foretell future Events. As Witches were supposed to be able to do this they too were Prophets; but to the Apprehension of sensible People of this Age, there are few more contemptible Beings than those who

are going about prating of an approaching Millennium, pretending to fix the Date when Christ is to make his Appearance. Illiterate People, like the late William Miller, who have scarcely read Anything except the Bible, may claim some Excuse for not knowing how many have, from *actual* Calculations, fixed upon the precise Day and even Hour of that Event. It would seem, that if these millennium Quacks should once see a Catalogue of those Prophecies, and learn the Confidence with which they were put forth, and that their Calculations were as well grounded as any that can in Reason be made, from the Premises made Use of, the World might in Future be relieved from the Infliction of Floods of *ill*-literature upon this Subject. But, as though Mankind had learned Nothing from the Past in this Respect, we see the Press teeming with millennium humbug Pamphlets even to our own Times. And however this may be viewed, it is only a Branch of that Superstition, out of which Witchcraft is another and perhaps earlier Branch.

Great Pains have been taken to explain away the Devil out of the New Testament, by Attempts to prove that the plainest Language is, and always has been misunderstood. When to Persons of

ordinary common Sense it is perfectly clear, that if what is written and received as the Word of God means Anything it means what it says. Nevertheless we meet with some most ingenious and learned Arguments, turning all Passages where the Devil figures into Allegories, while they do not meddle with Witches.¹

The eminent Dr. Lardner has proved to the Satisfaction of Thousands that the New Testament is full of Facts sustaining the Words of those Books as they stand, literally.² Besides, every good Lutheran believes in the personal Encounter the old Saint of Erfurth had with the Devil on a certain Occasion. And one much nearer the Time of the Event than we are says:

“Did not the Devil appear to Martin
Luther in Germany, for certain?
And would have gull'd him with a Trick,
But Mart. was too, too politick?”

Thus verifying to his early Friends, (the Catholics), their old Proverb, “that a young Saint will prove an old Devil.” Yet, one of our early New England Divines believed with Erasmus, who said “the Devil was the Author of that Proverb.”³

¹ The Rev. M. C. Conway's
Natural History of the Devil.

³ See Dr. I. Mather's *Election Sermon*, 1677, P. 101.

² *Case of the Demoniacs.* 1758.

The Undertaking would be by no Means inconsiderable, to collect even the Titles of Works on the Subject of Witchcraft, without including those of our own Times. For the last half Century they have been issued generally as Novels, but some of them so artfully that many have doubtless taken them for Realities. Here is a Specimen: *The Phantom World, translated from the French of Calmet, with a Preface and Notes by [the] Rev. Henry Christmas; giving a general Survey of the History and Philosophy of Spirits, Ghosts, Elves, Fairies, Spooks, Bogles, Bugaboos, and Hobgoblins.* Upon this Title one, a Writer in a popular Work, remarked: "It will probably meet with an extensive Circulation, in these Days when Connecticut Divines are haunted by infernal Visits, and the Rochester Sibyls are on Exhibition in New York."

When the above Announcement was made, about eighteen Years ago, the Farce of Spirit-rappings and Table-turnings was at its Height; and it was reported, with what of Truth we cannot say, that a Number of Believers in these "spiritual Manifestations" had formed a Settlement at a Place called Mountain Cave, in Fayette County in Virginia, having purchased fourteen thousand

Dollars' Worth of farming Lands thereabouts, and that Families were being added to the first Adventurers which had previously resided at Auburn in New York. They carried on the Issue of Newspapers, the Writings in which were "the Dictation of the Spirits." Whether this Community was in Existence in the Time of the late Rebellion, we have not heard. This is introduced as another Illustration of what has been often asserted, that there is Nothing too absurd or ridiculous, where Mystery lies at the Bottom, to obtain devoted Followers. About the Time this Colony of Spiritual Rappers was formed, some waggish Editor remarked: "Somewhere in Virginia, is a Place called Mountain Cave, where Spiritual Rappers have colonized in large Numbers and started a Paper. The Covies, says the New York Dutchman, have bored a Hole down through this poor contemptible Hemisphere and can see clean into the next World."

Having become tired of the old Notions of Revelation taught them by their Ancestors, new Theories are invented. Those find Followers for a Time, and are then succeeded by others; which, though equally shallow and absurd, have their Followers; and thus it will probably always be,

because all People are born in Ignorance and have Everything to learn.

The Thousands, if not Millions of Volumes which have been written and circulated for the Enlightenment of the ignorant World regarding a future State and Things appertaining thereto cannot but be immeasurably bewildering to all those who are inclined to consult them for the kind of Information most interesting, and in their Opinion, most important to them. Nor will it ever be otherwise so long as the Writers of such Works as we refer to base all their crude Arguments on false Foundations, or rather on no Foundation at all. With this Class of Writers it makes no Difference how often their Foundations have been shown to be false, they have no Will to desert them. They begin and end their Labours on Assumption. To explain away Witches from the Bible has occupied Pens which should have been better employed. The same may be said of those who have attempted to argue the Devil out of the New Testament. The elegant Style of Lardner has effected Nothing but an Exhibition of fine Writing. His latest Imitators will soon be forgotten, though some of them may have been read on Account of the Singularity of their Subject.

One who wrote anonymously, and published his "Essay" in 1833, among some sensible Remarks has this: "Those who think that Demoniacks were actually tortured by the Devil—that he brought Disorders upon them—threw them down—prevented them from speaking, hearing, and seeing, generally say it was Something peculiar to that Age," &c. To which this Essayist very significantly inquires, why it was that the Devil always threw his Victims *down*, and never threw them *up*? There was published the previous Year an *Essay on the Demoniacks of the New Testament*, accompanied by the well known Initials of E. S. G. In this there is such a nice balancing of syllogistick Ideas, that a common Mind may find itself bewildered and in serious Doubt whether the Writer does really mean Anything.

In an Attempt to controvert the Theories of modern Spiritualists, a Preacher tells us that "what was Falsehood and Imposture in the Days of the Hebrew Commonwealth, has not become by the mere Lapse of Time, a great and beneficent Discovery, opening new Fountains of Knowledge." At the same Time he tells us that Spiritualism "is a Branch of the Art of Divination practised in the Old World from Time Immemorial."

But it is better to give Things their real Names. It is not easy to distinguish between a *Branch* of this Kind and the Tree itself. The Truth seems to be, that the Witchcraft of former Days had become so unpopular, that it could not be made any longer to subserve the Interests of those who practised it. Hence it is given a new Name, and yet retains the same Mystery of Development.

Fortune-telling is as much a Branch of Witchcraft as Spirit-rapping, Table-turning, or any other of the "occult Sciences." These are the legitimate Progenitors of Ghosts or Apparitions. It would not require a very dark Night to produce these Spectres in the Imagination of those returning from a Visit to a Fortune-teller, or by passing the silent and lonely Church-yard. How woe-fully did our Quaker Poet err, when he fancied he was singing a Requiem over the last Witch of his native Land in these Lines: —

"How has New England's Romance fled,
Even as a Vision of the Morning!
Its Rites foregone — its Guardians dead —
Its Altar-fires extinguished —
Its Priestesses, bereft of Dread,
Waking the veriest Urchins scorning!
No more along the shadowy Glen,
Glide the dim Ghosts of murdered Men,—

No more the Unquiet Church-yard Dead,
Glimpse upward from their turfy Bed,
Startling the Traveller, late and loane;
As, on some Night of cloudy Weather,
They commune silently together,
Each fitting on his own Head-stone!
The roofless House, decayed, deserted,
Its living Tenants all departed,
No longer rings with Midnight Revel,
Of Witch, or Ghost, or Goblin evil;
No hellish Flame sends out its Flashes
Through creviced Roof and shattered Sashes!—
The Witch-grass round the Hazel spring,
May sharply to the night Air sing,
But there no more shall withered Hags
Refresh at Ease their Broomstick Nags;
Or taste those hazel-shadowed Waters
As Beverage meet for Satan's Daughters;
No more their mimick Tones be heard—
The Mew of Cat—the Chirp of Bird,
Shrill blending with the hoarser Laughter
Of the fell Demon following after.”

We say how egregiously he erred in supposing that “New England Romance had fled!” thirty-seven Years ago, because he must have known that haunted Houses existed and Ghosts flitted about as they listed in the very Borders of the great Metropolis near the present Time; that within a Year, many, perhaps several thousands, went out of this City of Boston to see a haunted

House in the Vicinity. Whether, as they approached the Place, the Hairs of their Heads stood erect, their Teeth chattered, and their Knees smote together, we cannot say, but some of them returned with mysterious Countenances, and it was many Days before they were willing to give up the Idea that they did not come very near seeing a Nonentity. About the same Time, Ghosts were having a brave Time at Fort Warren down in the Harbour, according to Reports current in the City. Many Persons, it is said, went down towards the Island on which the Fort is situated, but probably had not the Courage to land, as they made no Report afterwards.

The Reader should now be informed that the poetical Extract foregoing is from a Poem commemorative of as great and notorious a Witch as any that can be found described in the ANNALS OF WITCHCRAFT; and that we are indebted to the Bard of Lynn for a graphic Outline of her real History. But the Reader should be reminded that the amiable and excellent Author of that Work was himself a Poet, and that it is possible that his Account may have a Tinge of Poetry, or be a little bordering on Romance. With this Premonition it shall follow in his own Words:

"The celebrated Mary Pitcher, a professed Fortune-teller, died April 9th, 1813, aged 75. Her Grandfather, John Dimond, lived at Marblehead, and for many Years exercised the same Pretensions. Her Father, Capt. John Dimond, was Master of a Vessel from that Place, and was living in 1770. Mary Dimond was born in the Year 1738. She was connected with some of the best Families in Essex County, and with the Exception of her extraordinary Pretensions, there was Nothing disreputable in her Life or Character. She was of the medium Height and Size for a Woman, with a good Form and agreeable Manners. Her Head, phrenologically considered, was somewhat capacious; her Forehead broad and full, her Hair dark Brown, her Nose inclining to long, and her Face pale and thin. There was nothing gross or sensual in her Appearance—her Countenance was rather Intellectual; and she had that Contour of Face and Expression which, without being positively beautiful is, nevertheless, decidedly interesting—a thoughtful, pensive, and sometimes downcast Look, almost approaching to Melancholy—an Eye, when it looked at you, of calm and keen Penetration—and an Expression of intelligent Discernment,

half mingled with a Glance of Shrewdness. She took a poor Man for a Husband, and then adopted what she Doubtless thought the harmless Employment of Fortune-telling, in Order to support her Children. In this she was probably more successful than she herself had anticipated; and she became celebrated, not only throughout America, but throughout the World, for her Skill. There was no Port on either Continent, where floated the Flag of an American Ship, that had not heard of the Fame of MOLL PITCHER. To her came the Rich and the Poor—the Wife and the Ignorant—the Accomplished and the Vulgar—the Timid and the Brave. The ignorant Sailor, who believed in the Omens and Dreams of Superstition, and the intelligent Merchant, whose Ships were freighted for distant Lands, alike sought her Dwelling; and many a Vessel has been deserted by its Crew, and waited idly at the Wharves, for Weeks, in Consequence of her unlucky Predictions. Many Persons came from Places far remote, to consult her on Affairs of Love or Loss of Property; or to obtain her Surmises respecting the Vicissitudes of their future Fortune. Every Youth, who was not assured of the reciprocal Affection of his fair one, and every Maid who was

desirous of anticipating the Hour of her highest Felicity, repaired at Evening to her humble Dwelling, which stood on what was then a lonely Road, near the Foot of High Rock, with the single Dwelling of Dr. Henry Burchard nearly opposite; over whose Gateway were the two Bones of a great Whale, disposed in the Form of a Gothic Arch. There for more than fifty Years, in her unpretending Mansion, did she answer the Inquiries of the simple Rustic from the Wilds of New Hampshire, and the wealthy Noble from Europe; and, doubtless her Predictions have had an Influence in shaping the Fortunes of Thousands."

This is a Sketch drawn from Life. Mr. Lewis remembered Mary Pitcher well, for he lived near her, and was eighteen Years of Age when she died. "Her Husband was a Shoemaker named Robert Pitcher, to whom she was married October 2d, 1760, of Course at the Age of twenty-two. She had one Son, John, and three Daughters, Rebecca, Ruth, and Lydia, who married respectably, and some of her Descendants are among the prettiest young Ladies of Lynn."¹

¹ Mr. NEWHALL in his valuable *graph of MARY PITCHER, and an*
Additions to the History of Lynn Engraving of the House in which
has given a Fac Simile of the Auto- she lived.

Another, one of New England's elegant Writers, who also knew the celebrated Mary Pitcher, has left the following Note upon her: "She was so well known to most Persons, that their Recollections will be better than any Description. She had thin Lips, the arched Eyebrows, the chappy Finger, and that Shrewdness which have so often been the Characteristics of those who have deceived the World by pretending to tell Fortunes, or to find lost Goods. It can do no Harm to amuse ourselves by the History of any Delusion when it has passed. The Age of Reason has come, and Superstition is now shaking from her Raven Wings the last Dewdrops swept from the Fens of Ignorance, and the Light of Knowledge has broken the Enchanter's Wand and the Sorcerer's Cup."¹

Had this excellent Writer lived thirty Years later he would have found that Something of the Wand Kind has been more active than ever, and that the Wand of the Spirit-Rapper is far in advance of that of the Conjuror of his Time. They hold Communion with the Dead and lead captive the strong minded living of our Day. Alas for the Age of Reason! It is in Prospect

¹ Samuel L. Knapp in 1825.

like that glorious funny Point called the West, which when reached is no longer there, but becomes the opposite—the East.

Notwithstanding the great Fame of Moll Pitcher, there was another Female quite as notorious and contemporary with her, residing in Newburyport, and therefore better known perhaps to Mr. Knapp than the Former. This Woman would probably have rivalled Mary in Fame, had she resided as near Boston. Of that, however, the Reader can judge, after the Perusal of what Mr. Knapp has left us. He says: “The Writer remembers, in his short Life, three Persons, not only reputed, as many more have been, but absolutely believed by a great Portion of the Credulous, to have practised the Arts of Witchcraft. The first lived in Newburyport. She was a Woman of extraordinary Appearance—she was short, but stout; had a strongly marked Face, large greenish Eyes, prominent Nose, and a large Mouth, with a perfect Set of double Teeth all around. Her Voice was stentorian. She came to Newburyport in 1759 or 60, and was probably the Appendage of a Scotch Officer in Amherst’s Army. Her Acquirements and her Address were such that she at once obtained a

School, and received the honourable Appellation of Dame Hooper, and afterwards that of Madam Hooper. Her Temper was excessively irascible, and being rather restive under such Confinement, she gave up her School, after she had formed a thorough Acquaintance with the People. Her Guesses were often so shrewd that some began to stare, and at length, as the Wonders of her Skill increased, pronounced her a Witch. This Character being once fixed, she availed herself of the Belief, to live upon the Credulity of the Publick. The best informed felt no Desire to quarrel with her, and others often propitiated her good Will with Presents. She had Access to every House, and made frequent Visits to numerous Families. The Children bowed to her *Divinity* as she entered the House of their Parents, and she being well informed, astonished them with sage Remarks. She was the most acute Physiognomist I ever saw, and read the Character even of a Child at a Glance. Her Speeches were short, striking, and, like those of the Sybil, generally equivocal. An hundred of them are fresh in my Memory at this Moment, and are quite equal to those left us from the ancient Oracles. She told Fortunes, found lost Goods, and was consulted on other Subjects

with Gravity, by the sober part of the Community. In her latter Days she degenerated from her high Standing, and became not only a Fortune-Teller, but something lower, in the Estimation of many; yet, such was the Fear of this Woman, that the grave Fathers of the Town, quick scented, and unequalled in their Exertions to exterminate Vice, did not dare interfere with her. The Orgies of Bacchus and Venus were celebrated in her Den, without the slightest Fear of Detection or Punishment. It is true her Habitation was on the farthest Verge of the Town, and where her Bacchantes could not disturb many. Boys ran past her House, if obliged to go that Way in the Evening, without looking about them. Old Age at length came upon her, and her shrewd Guesses no longer passed for Foreknowledge. Many who had often consulted her, and believed in her Power, now thought her League with the Devil had run out—that she was a miserable Wretch, polluted by infernal Associates, without retaining a Particle of their accursed Knowledge. None but Hags came near her, and she expired on a Bed of filthy Straw. The Wardrobe she possessed on her Arrival, was so abundant as to have lasted during her Life.”

Our Author extracts Edmund Spenser's Description of the Abode of a Witch,¹ in speaking of another Woman, who in her Time passed current for a Witch. This was one "*Mother Danforth*." But where the "gloomy, hollow Glen" was containing her Cottage he does not inform us; but says, "This harmless old Woman was often charged with afflicting Men, Women and Children, and playing off her Pranks upon Horses, Cattle, Sheep, and above all on Cats. The best authenticated Stories were told of her being seen in the Air on a Broomstick, and holding a *Sabbath*, with others of her Race, in a desolate Island. *Mother Danforth* was the Leader of the frightful Band. None of those Experiments which often sent less careful Witches to their long Account, ever reached her—she was Proof against every witch-killing Process; she had been shot at in the Form of a Cat, with silver Bullets, but all to no Effect."

But the Author of this Extract does not tell what became of *Mother Danforth*. She no doubt died a natural Death, as thousands of other aged Females have in various Parts of the Coun-

¹ See *The Witchcraft Delusion in N. Eng.*, I, xlix.

try. The Writer is not as old as he from whom the above Extracts are made, but it was his Fortune in Youth to be acquainted in many Towns, in nearly all of which there was a reputed Witch. In one in particular, a Daughter-in-law sustained the Belief of her Neighbours that her Mother-in-law was a Witch, that she was known to have been absent at Nights attending Witch-Meetings; that she had been rid by her and exhibited her worn Hands, though when rid she was turned into a Horse. At the same Time it was well known that the old Mother-in-law had been bed-rid many Years, and had not for a long Time left her Bed without Assistance!



ANNALS OF

Witchcraft in New England.



L A W S against Witchcraft naturally grew out of a Demand by the People for a Remedy for that particular Evil. That it was a fancied or imaginary Evil made no Difference. These Laws gradually dropped out of the Statute Books, as the People became enlightened; and so it was with many other Laws, enacted in about as much Darkness as were those against Witchcraft. But with these—some of which disgrace the Statute Books of the present Day—we now have Nothing to do.

1636.

The People of Plymouth had been disturbed by Witches doubtless before the Year 1636, or they would not have, in that Year, included in their Summary of Offences "lyable to Death," one in these words:—"Solemn Compaction or conversing with the Divell by way of Witchcraft, Conjurat[i]on or the like." Ten Years later it was reenacted, yet no Intimation is found in the Records that any new Cause had transpired.

1642.

There does not appear to have been any particular Cause for including Witchcraft among the capital Offences at this Period in the Colony of Connecticut; but as they drew their Capital Code from the Bible, it was necessarily included, and in these words:—"Yf any Man or Woman be a Witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a Familiar Spirit, they shall be put to death." The Colony of Massachusetts had the previous Year adopted the Body of Liberties, which contains the same Clause concerning Witches and Witchcraft.

1646.

The Law against Witchcraft, enacted in 1642, is reenacted, and we do not find any Alteration or Reenactment until October, 1692. Up to this Time Proceedings in Cases of Witchcraft were "according to the Directions given in the Laws

of God and the wholesome Statutes of the English Nation." But upon the Opening of the Tragedy in Salem Village, in the Beginning of 1692, the old Enactments were thought insufficient, and a new and more verbose one was drawn up and passed¹ by the General Court, the Governour and Council having in the mean Time requested the Opinion of several of the principal Ministers upon the State of Things as they then stood, according to the Practice under the old Charter. Their Opinion was given in Writing, and consisted of eight Articles, which may be read in the *History of Massachusetts*.²

A Person of Windsor was put to Death on the Charge of Witchcraft at Hartford. No Circumstances have been found, nor the Name of the Sufferer.³

1647.

What had influenced the People of Rhode Island to cause the General Court of that Colony to make the following Enactment, does not appear. In the Acts of May of the Year 1647, we find "Witchcraft is forbidden by this present Assembly to be used in this Colonie; and the Penaltie imposed by the Authoritie that we are subject

¹ See Dane's *Charters and Laws*, 735.

² *Hutchinson*, II, 50, 51, who does not appear to have known that it was composed by Dr. Cot-

ton Mather. But Mather, in his *War with Calef*, says, "it was my poor Hand which drew up that Advice."—*Some Few Remarks*, 39.

³ Winthrop, *Journal*, II, 307.

to, is Felonie of Death." It is probable that Somebody had been "using" it, or their Intentions to do so were strongly suspected.

1648.

The first Execution for Witchcraft in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, was at Boston on the 15th of June, 1648. Accusations were probably common long before this, but now came a tangible Case, and it was carried through with as much Satisfaction to the Authorities, apparently, as ever the Indians burnt a Prisoner at the Stake.

The Victim was a Female named Margaret Jones, the Wife of Thomas Jones of Charlestown, who perished on the Gallows, as much for her good Offices, as for the evil Influences imputed to her. She had been, like many other Mothers among the early Settlers, a Physician; but being once suspected of Witchcraft, "was found to have such a malignant Touch, as many Persons were taken with Deafness, or Vomiting, or other violent Pains or Sicknes." Her Medicines, though harmless in themselves, "yet had extraordinary violent Effects;" that such as refused her Medicines, "she would tell that they would never be healed, and accordingly their Diseases and Hurts continued, with Relapse against the ordinary Course, and beyond the Apprehension of all Physicians and Surgeons." And, as she lay in Prison, "a little Child was seen to run from her into another Room, and being fol-

lowed by an Officer, it was vanished." There was other Testimony against her more ridiculous than this, but not necessary to be recited. To make her Case as bad as possible, the Recorder of it says "her Behaviour at her Trial was intemperate, lying notoriously, and railing upon the Jury and Witnesses," and that "in like Distemper she died." It is not unlikely that this poor forsaken Woman was distracted with Indignation at the Utterances of the false Witnesses, when she saw her Life was sworn away by them. The deluded Court denounced her frantick Denial of the Charges as "lying notoriously." And in the probably honest Belief in Witchcraft, the same Recorder¹ says, in the most complacent Credulity, that "the same Day and Hour she was executed, there was a very great Tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many Trees, &c." Another equally credulous Gentleman, writing a Letter to a Friend, dated at Boston on the 13th of the same Month, says: "The Witche is condemned, and to be hanged Tomorrow, being Lecture Day."

Whether there were any other suspected Persons at the time Margaret Jones was prosecuted, we have no Means of ascertaining, yet it is more than probable that a supposed Spirit of Darknes had been whispering in the Ears of the Men in Authority in Boston; for about a Month before the Execution of Margaret, they passed this Order:

¹ John Winthrop.

"The Courte desire the Courſe which hath been taken in England for Diſcovery of Witches, by watching them a certain Time. It is ordered, that the beſt and ſureſt Way may forthwith be put in Practice; to begin this Night, if it may be, being the 18th of the third Month, and that the Huſband may be confined to a private Roome, and be alſo then watched."

That the Court was ſtirred up to ferret out Witches, by the late Succeſſes in that Buſineſs in England,—ſeveral Perſons having been tried, condemned and executed in Feversham about two Years before—is not improbable. By "the Courſe which hath been taken in England for the Diſcovery of Witches," the Court had Reference to the Employment of Witch-Finders, one Matthew Hopkins having had great Succeſs. By his infernal Pretenſions "ſome ſcores" of innocent bewildered People met violent Deaths at the Hands of the Executioner, all along from 1634 to 1646. But to return to the Caſe of Margaret Jones. She having gone down to an ignominious Grave, leaving her Huſband to ſuffer the Taunts and Jeers of the ignorant Multitude, eſcaped further Proſecution. Theſe were ſo inſufferable that his Means of Living were cut off, and he was compelled to try to ſeek another Aſylum. A Ship was lying in the Harbor bound for Barbadoes. In this he took Paſſage. But he was not thus to eſcape Perſecution. On this "Ship of 300 Tons" were eighty Horſes. Theſe cauſed the Veſſel to roll conſiderably, perhaps heavily,

which to Persons of any Sea Experience would have been no Miracle. But Mr. Jones was a Witch, a Warrant was sued out for his Apprehension, and he was hurried thence to Prison,¹ and there left by the Recorder of the Account, who has left his Readers in Ignorance of what became of him. Whether he were the Thomas *Joanes* of Elzing, who in 1637 took Passage at Yarmouth for New England, cannot be positively stated, although he is probably the same Person. If so, his Age at that Time was 25 Years, and he married subsequently.²

To whom is referred in the following Passage, written about 1693, is not clear: "We have been advised by some credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of Witchcraft, as well as Murder, and executed in this Place more than forty Years ago, did then give Notice of an horrible PLOT against the Country by WITCHCRAFT, and a Foundation of WITCHCRAFT then laid, which, if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably blow up and pull down all the Churches in the Country. And we have with Horror seen the Discovery of such a Witchcraft. An Army of Devils is horribly broke in upon the Place, which is the Centre, and after a Sort, the First-born of our English Settlements."³

¹ See *Hist. and Antiq's Boston*, 49
and Authorities, 308-9.

³ *Wonders of the Invisible World.*

² See *Founders of New England*,

Mary Johnson was executed at Hartford for Witchcraft. Neither her Trial nor Execution appear in the published Records of the General Court of Connecticut. She was the same Person, it is supposed, who at the August Term, 1646, the General Court ordered, "for Theuery, is to be presently whipped, and to be brought forth a Month hence at Wethersfield, and there whipped."

About two Years later, namely, December 7th, 1648, is found the following brief Entry respecting Mary *Jonson*, doubtless the same who had been ordered to be whipped, as just mentioned: "The Jury finds the Bill of Inditement against Mary Jonson, that, by her owne Confession, shee is guilty of Familiarity with the Deuill."

Concerning this Case, as in many others, we have a good deal in Amount, and yet but few Facts; are told that "her Confession was attended with such convictive Circumstances, that it could not be slighted." But unfortunately none of the *convictive* Circumstances are given, that the Readers might have the Satisfaction of exercising their own Judgement, as to their *convictiveness*. We must therefore take the only Account we have as we find it, feeling that the original Narrator implicitly believed every Word of it. He says, "very many material Passages relating to this Matter are now lost; but so much as is well known, and can still be proved, shall be inserted."

"She said her first Familiarity with the Devil came through Discontent, and wishing the Devil to take this and that, and the Devil to do that

and t'other Thing. Whereupon a Devil appeared unto her, tendring her what Services might best content her. A Devil accordingly did for her many Services. Her Master blamed her for not carrying out the Ashes, and a Devil afterwards would clear the Hearth of Ashes for her. Her Master sending her to drive out the Hogs, that sometimes broke into their Field, a Devil would scowre the Hogs away, and make her laugh to see how he scared them. She confessed that she had murdered a Child, and committed Uncleanes both with Men and with Devils. In the Time of her Imprisonment, the famous Mr. [Samuel] Stone was at great Pains to promote her Conversion from the Devil to God." The same Author tells us she went out of the World with comfortable Hopes, having been by the "best Observers judged very Penitent before her Execution and at it."

Thus we are left in utter Ignorance as to what was produced against Mary Johnson at her Trial, if she had any. But at the Term of Court before mentioned, we find a List of the Jury, composed of the following Names: "Mr. Phelps, John Tailecoate, Will. Wadsworth, Andr. Bacon, Sam. Smith, Nath Dickerson, Thomas Coleman, John Demyn, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Allyn, Will. Gibbens, John More." Edward Hopkins, Esq., was Governour. "Mr. Wells, Mr. Woollcott, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Cullick," were Magistrates."

1650.

It is incidentally mentioned by Hutchinson, that no Person was convicted for Witchcraft in New England, before the Year 1650, "when, a poor Wretch, Mary Oliver, probably weary of her Life from the general Reputation of being a Witch, after long Examination, was brought to Confession of her Guilt, but I do not find that she was executed." It would seem from this Passage of the Historian, that he did not consider Mary Johnson to have been convicted, or probably he had no Knowledge of her Case.

1651.

We come now to a Case quite as deplorable as that of the Year 1648, already considered. It occurred in the Town of Springfield, on the Connecticut River, and has been several Times noticed by local and other Writers, none of whom, however, have given a satisfactory Account of it, because the Materials were unknown to them. It is referred to by Capt. Edward Johnson, in his loose way, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, &c., which brings down his *History of New England* to 1651, and was printed in 1654. In speaking of the Settlement of Springfield he says: "There hath of late been more than one or two in this Town, greatly suspected of Witchcraft, yet have they used much Diligence, both for the finding them out, and for the Lord's assisting them against their Witchery; yet have they, as is sup-

posed, bewitched not a few Persons, among whom two of the Reverend Elder's Children." The Reverend Elder was Mr. George Moxon, the first Minister of the Place.¹ The Author just mentioned is the only one remembered among the early New England Writers who notices the Witchcraft Troubles at Springfield. Some of our own Times relate them, or what they happen to know of them, with the same Feeling, apparently, as they would relate a nursery Tale to their Children; seeming not to be sensible of the Horrors and Privations suffered by the Fathers and Mothers of the Land, in that dark Period of its History.

It is quite Evident from Capt. Johnson's Account, that Witchcraft in Springfield was about coeval with the first Settlement of the Place, which was in 1636. The Company which made the Settlement there was led by Mr. William Pynchon, a Gentleman of Learning and Enterprise, and afterwards a Magistrate.

According to Captain Johnson, Witches were disturbing the Peace of the People of Springfield ten Years before legal Steps were taken to put a Stop to them. On whom or how many Suspicions were fixed before Mr. Pynchon felt com-

¹ It is reported that Mary Parson was tried, about the End of February (1661) for, as the Indictment runs, that being seduced by the Devil, at Springfield, she consulted with a familiar Spirit, making a Covenant with him, and had used

divers devilish Practices by Witchcraft, to the Hurt of Martha and Rebeca Moxon, against the Word of God, &c. She pleaded not Guilty, and the Court finally discharged her.—See Judd's *History Hadley*, 234.

pelled to set up his Inquisition, we shall probably never know. Perhaps they were at first among a Class of Denizens of too high social Standing to admit an Interference. But in the latter Part of the Year 1650, Suspicions fell on a Man named Hugh Parsons. This Man appears to have been one of the first Settlers of the Town, probably went there in Mr. Pynchon's Company. He was an honest, sensible laboring Man, a Sawyer by Occupation, and it may be well to remark that, before Mills were built, the Business of a Sawyer was not inconsiderable, in the then Wilderness of New England. After a few Years' Residence at Springfield, Mr. Parsons married a young Woman named Mary Lewis. The Marriage took place October 27th, 1645. Their first Child, at least the first we find recorded, was born on the 4th of October, 1649. This Child was named Samuel, and it died at the Age of one Year. The following Year, on the 26th of October, they had another, a Son, which they named Joshua. It was soon after the Birth of this Child that the Charge of Witchcraft was made against the Father. The Mother's Sickness, consequent, perhaps, upon the Privations and Hardships of a Wilderness, deprived her of Reason, and the Course pursued after she was thus afflicted, rendered her permanently insane. This Condition was declared to be produced by Witchcraft, and the Testimony of this sick and insane Woman was taken as legal Evidence against her Husband, and afterwards against herself. Her Illness im-

mediately after the Birth of her Child, was, as before remarked, doubtless caused by prematurely exposing herself, which so affected the Health of the Child, that it fell into a Languishment, and being deprived of the Care it required, its Death followed on the 1st of March, 1651. Whereupon the Clamour against the Father increased, and he was denounced as a Witch on all Sides.

Mrs. Parsons was sent to Boston and here imprisoned, about the 1st of May. At length, on the 7th of May, 1651, her Case was brought before the General Court, and the following Record is the Result of their Deliberation: "Mary Parsons of Springfield having two Bills of Indictment framed against her, the one for having Familiarity with the Devill as a Witch, to which she pleaded not Guilty, and not sufficient Evidence appearing to prove the same, she was acquitted of Witchcraft. The second Indictment was for wilfully and most wickedly murdering her owne Child, to which shee pleaded guilty, confest the Fact, and according to her Deserts was condemned to Dy."

A Jury had previously convicted Hugh, the Husband of Mary Parsons, of the Crime of Witchcraft, by the Practice of which as charged, he had caused his Child's Death; but in the mean Time the poor, distressed and wretched Wife had confessed herself a Witch, and that she had killed the Child. This Confession caused the Court to come to the Decsion just recorded; and on the 27th of the same Month they came to the fol-

lowing Decision in the Husband's Case: "The Magistrates not consenting to the Verdict of the Jury in Parsons's Case, the Cause coming legally to the General Court for Issue, the Court on Perusal of the Evidence brought in against him for Witchcraft, doe judge that he is not legally Guilty of Witchcraft; so not to Dy by our Law."

Hence in the Law-Logic of that Time one was considered Guilty till another for the same Crime was found so; reminding us of the vicarious Punishment (though not exactly a Parallel Case) so ludicrously paraded by Butler, as being in Use in New England, in its early Settlement.

Thus, after a long and tedious Prosecution at Springfield, he was sent to Boston to be finally disposed of; and here a Bill of Indictment was "framed" against him, of which this is a Copy: "The Grand Jurie for this Comanwelth present Hugh Parsons of Springfield, not haueing ye Feare of God before his Eyes, in or about March last, and diuers Times before and since, at Springfield aforesaid (as they conceued) had familier and wiced Conuerse with ye Deuil, and did use diuers duellish Practises and Witchcrafte to ye Hurte of diuers Persons, as by seuerall Witnesses and Sercumstances doth apr. and doe leaue him to ye Corte for his further tryal for his Life."

The Verdict of the Trial Jury was rendered in Writing and is in these Words:

"The Jurie of Life and Death findes against Hugh Parsons, by ye Testemony of such as

apearde in Corte, soe much as giues them Grounde not to cleare him, but cosidered with y^e Testimonys of diuers y^t are at Springfield, whose Testimonys were onely sent in Writeinge, as also y^e Confession of Mary Parsons, and y^e Impeachment of some of y^e bewitched Persons of y^e said Hew Parsons, which, if y^e General Corte make y^e Confession of Mary Parsons and y^e impeachment of y^e bewitched Persons or other of them, and y^e Testemonys y^t are in Writeinge, but appeared not in Person authentike Testimonys acordinge to Law, then y^e Jurie findes y^e saide Hugh Parsons Giltie of y^e sin of Wichcrafte.

EDWARD HUTCHINSON,¹ *Foreman,*"

with y^e Consent of y^e rest of y^e Jurie.

It is Plain that the Jury intended to throw the Responsibility on the General Court, which was a safe and easy Way to dispose of the Case, the Murder of the Child having been assumed by its poor demented Mother. It is Evident, however, that there was a lingering Belief in the Minds of the Jury, that Hugh had been practising Witchcraft on his Neighbours at Springfield; but as it was chiefly in cutting boiled Puddings longitudinally, filing of Saws in the Night Time, and some few other equally innocent (though invisable-handed) Amusements, they thought it Best to shuffle over them, as set forth in the above Verdict.

¹ The Great-Grand-Father of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, the Historian of *Massachusetts Bay*. He died Aug. 19th, 1675, of Wounds received in an Attack by the Indians at Wickabang Pond, a few Days previous. The Governour does not mention this Circumstance in his History.

What became of the friendless Man, after his Trial, does not clearly appear. He did not probably remain long in Boston, and never returned to Springfield, as some of his Effects were not long after sold for him by Mr. John Pynchon, and the Proceeds remitted to him in Boston. It is believed that he went to Narraganset, and thence to Long Island, which are all the Traces we have of him.

It appears from the Testimonies (which will be found in the Appendix) that there was Something like Conspiracy against Parsons, for as late as the 7th of April, when Jonathan Taylor gave in his Testimony at the Court, he said that Hugh Parsons came to him and desired to know who were his Accusers; and on Taylor's refusing to tell him, Hugh replied, "I know you can tell. Was it ever known that a Man should be accused and not know his Accusers?" It will be found that whenever Anything is recorded of what Parsons said, on any Occasion, it shows a good Understanding and Common Sense. Some Allowance will of Necessity be made, as it all comes from his Accusers.

There no doubt was Something of an extensive Enmity against Parsons, as is inferred from the general Tenour of the Testimonies against him, and his Examinations. The Testimonies amount to Nothing, being a Collection of as childish Nonsense as ever was got together; and how a Man of Sense, as Mr. Pynchon is supposed to have been, could have sat, day after day and lif-

tened to it, is as astonishing as the Matter itself is puerile, absurd and ridiculous.

As has been noticed in other Prosecutions, so in this, it is very observable that the accused Party had many Enemies. He was shrewd in making Bargains, and perhaps might have taken advantage Sometimes, when he thought he had made a hard one, or been overreached, of attempting to "throw it up." But there is no Evidence of Dishonesty on his Part. He was a Brickmaker as well as a Sawyer, or he carried on the latter Business. He had a Difficulty with Mr. Moxon, the Minister, respecting the Bricks for the Chimney of his House. Hence Mr. Moxon was among his Accusers. It is inferred that the Minister had some Advantage by the Contract, and that Parsons thought he ought not to be held to perform it, but he did not refuse to perform his Part, only, was wont to remark as on similar Occasions, that if Mr. Moxon exacted its Performance "it would do him no good," or that he "would be Even with him." These were very common Expressions with him, and seem to have had great Weight with his Accusers, as Evidence that he practised Witchcraft.

Parsons was prosecuted some Time before this (1649) Witchcraft Affair, by "the Widow Marshfield," for a Libel, by Words uttered by his Wife. We learn this incidentally, and by Inference also, that the Libel consisted in Mrs. Parsons saying that Goodwife Marshfield had bewitched Mr. Moxon's Children. The Case went against him

and he was condemned to pay the heavy Amount of twenty-four Bushels of Indian Corn, and twenty Shillings in Money. Both Parsons and his Wife declared that this was owing to false Swearing. Hence, the Records of that Case would doubtless disclose the Names of those who swore against him, and that the same Individuals came forward on the same Side to prove him a Witch.

From what can be gathered in examining the Testimonies, it is Evident that Parsons's Wife was a turbulent Woman, and by her unbridled Tongue had been the Means of the Prosecution for Slander before mentioned. This may have been the Cause of some Neglect of her on his Part. This Neglect may also have been a Cause of inconsiderate Complaints and harsh Speeches to Others by her against her Husband; and he appears to have been a Man of strong Resentments, and it was very Natural that he should exhibit them on such Occasions, and that Altercations arose, and were continued until an entire Estrangement and Hatred put an End to all Affection. At length ill Health, and a naturally bad Temper threw her into a State of Insanity, so plainly exhibited at the Examination of her Husband.

Some Time previous to the 15th of May of this Year the People of Stratford, in Connecticut were in great Commotion by Witchcraft breaking out there. Records, so far as can be learned, are nearly Silent respecting it. From such Inti-

mations and incidental Notices as have been gathered, it is Evident that one Goodwife Bassett was tried, condemned for a Witch, and executed in that Town. Her Trial took place subsequently to the 15th of May, as will appear from the following Entry in the Court Records of Connecticut, in these Words: "The Gouverneur, Mr. Cullick and Mr. Clarke are desired to goe downe to Stratford to keepe Courte vppon the Tryall of Goody Bassett for her Life; and if the Gouverneur cannott goe, then Mr. Wells is to goe in his Roome." It may be worth Attention to remark that John Haynes, Esq., was Governour, Mr. John Cullick, Mr. Daniel Clarke, and Mr. John Wells were Magistrates.

As to who Goodwife Bassett was there appears no present Means of knowing, and it may hardly be worth While to venture Conjectures on the Question. President Dwight Somewhere mentions her Execution, and Professor Kingsley adverts to it in his *Centennial* of 1838 at Newhaven. She was most likely an elderly Woman, who came to New England as a Member of some Family, and perhaps without any near Relative; and having become old, and none to take an Interest in her Welfare, it was easy, in those Days, and under such Circumstances, when the Cry of "Witch" was once set up, to hunt down and ruin the decrepit and friendless.

Some Writers, with a greater Desire to make their Neighbourhood appear free from Blemishes than to relate Facts, have denied that there is any

Proof that Executions for Witchcraft took place within their Jurisdiction. But in the Case of Goodwife Bassett, Doubts appear to be gratuitous. Three Places were known in Stratford where *Gallows* had stood, before 1680.¹ Persons of the Name of *Bassett* were early quite numerous in Connecticut.

1652.

No accurate Opinion can be formed as to the Extent of a Disturbance occasioned by Agents from the Invisible World, by a single Instance that happens to be recorded. It is reasonable to suppose that Accusations went on in a Village or Town many Months, and perhaps Years, before the Courts felt obliged to take Cognizance of them. Thus in the Town of Ipswich, in a Court held there in 1652, we are assured on the best Authority, that a Man was sentenced to be whipt, or to pay twenty Shillings "for having Familiarity with the Devil;"² while we are not told the name of the Man, or what Evidence he was convicted on. How such a Sentence could have been rendered under the Laws even then in force, it is not Easy to see.

On recurring to a late elaborate Work³ the Name of the Accused was found to be John Bradstreet of Rowley, and that his Crime pro-

¹ Hinman, *Genealogy of the Puritan Court Files*, 207.
ritans, 160.

² Felt, *Hist. Ipswich, from Quar-* ³ By the Rev. Mr. C. W. Up-
ham.

bably was for telling his Dreams. Francis Parat and his Wife, of Rowley; and William Bartholomew of Ipswich, evidenced that Bradstreet told them that he read in a Book of Magick, and that he heard a Voice asking him what Work he had for him. He [the Voice] answered, "Go make a Bridge of Sand over the Sea; go make a Ladder of Sand up to Heaven, and go to God and come down no more." For this idle and nonsensical Talk, and "telling a Lie," he was condemned to pay twenty Shillings or be whipped. He had been convicted before of lying.

1653.

The Affairs at Springfield were scarcely over before the "Devill" was "discovered" among the Women of New Haven Colony, and indirectly among the sober and strong minded Men of that Place. It is told, by way of prefatory Matter,¹ that "Molestations from Evil Spirits, in more sensible and surprising Operations than those finer Methods wherein they commonly work upon the Minds of all Men, but especially of *Ill Men*, have so abounded in this Countrey, that I question whether any one Town has been free from *sad Examples* of them. The Neighbours have not been careful enough to *Record* and Attest the prodigious Occurrences of this Importance, which have been among us. Many *true* and *strange* Occurrences from the Invisible World, in these

¹ By Dr. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, B. VI, 66.

Parts of the World, are faultily buried in Oblivion.¹ But some of these very stupendious Things have had their Memory preserved in the written Memorials of honest, prudent, and faithful Men; for every one of which we have had such a sufficient Evidence, that no *Reasonable* Man in this whole Countrie ever did question them." Whence it follows, that all who did question them were *un-reasonable* Persons.

The second Person who suffered Death in the New Haven Colony, so far as Researches up to this Time have discovered, was a Woman, named Knapp. It is remarked by a modern Hand, that "she suffered terribly by Witchcraft, if the trifling Story in the *Magnalia* is good for Anything."² But if the Accounts contained in the original Records are reliable, of which there can be no Doubt, the "trifling" lies at the Door of our Cotemporary. In following that Account, however, he has placed the Case of "terrible Suffering" about twenty Years later than its actual Occurrence; unless there were two Persons of the Name of Knapp who suffered for Witch-

¹ Was the "prodigious Occurrence" at Springfield unknown to the Drs. Mather, or did they purposely omit it? I see no Reason for their omitting it, unless it were to obliivate Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Moxon. The former being in Advance of the Age on the Question of Religious Liberty, and the latter because he was of the same

Opinion.

² The "Story" is copied by Dr. C. Mather from the *Remarkable Providences* of his Father. Mr. Savage probably knew this, but it afforded him more Pleasure to hurl a Missile at the Son than at the real Author. See *N. Eng. Gen. Diff. Art. KNAPP*.

craft, one in 1653, and the other in 1671. This Point we must leave for him or others to reconcile, and speak from the Record before us.

Of the Trial and Execution of Goodwife Knapp. What Facts we possess regarding her Case came out at an Arraignment of Mr. Roger Ludlow, at the May Term of the "Court of Magistrates" at New Haven, for defaming the Character of the Wife of Thomas Staplies, "in reporting to Mr. Dauenport and Mrs. Dauenport, that she had laid herself vnder a new Suspicion of being a Witch; that she had caused Knapp's Wife to be new searched after she was hanged, and when she saw the Teates, said, if they were the Markes of a Witch, then she was one, or she had such Markes; secondly, Mr. Ludlow said Knapps Wife told him that Goodwife Staplies was a Witch; thirdly, that Mr. Ludlow hath slandered Goodwife Staplies in saying that she made a Trade of lying, &c."

On the Trial, Mr. Ludlow failed to convince the Court that he did not thus charge Mrs. Staplies with being a Witch, or to make it appear that she was a Witch. Whereupon the Court ordered that Mr. Ludlow "pay to Thomas Staplies, by way of Fine, for Reparation of his Wiues Name Ten Pounds, and for his Trouble and Charge in following the Suit Five Pounds more." He was fined at the next Term Ten Pounds additional for accusing her of lying.

It would seem that Mr. Ludlow had been in-

strumental in causing Mrs. Knapp¹ to be put to Death; and that Mrs. Staplies's chief Sin was in not believing that she, Goodwife Knapp, was Guilty, and in reporting agreeably to her Belief. Lawyers were employed on both Sides; Ensign Alexander Bryan on the Part of Mr. Ludlow, and Mr. John Banks for Mr. Staplies. Specimens of the Testimony, so far as they bear on the Case of Mrs Knapp, follow:

Mr. Davenport² testified, "that, Mr. Ludlow, sitting with him and his Wife alone, and discouraging of the Passages concerning Knapp's Wife the Witch, and her Execution, said that she came down from the Ladder, (as he [Davenport] understood it,) and desired to speak with him [Ludlow] alone, and told him who was the Witch spoken of; and so far as he remembers, he, or his Wife asked him who it was; he said she named Goodwife Staplies. Mr. Davenport replied, that he beleaved it was vtterly vntrue, and spoken [by Knapp] out of Malice. Mr. Ludlow answered that he hoped better of her [Staplies] but said she was a foolish Woman; and then told them a further Storey—how she tumbled the Corpse of the Witch vp and downe after her Death, before sundrie Women, and

¹ I have not followed the Record in respect to the Prefixes or Titles of some Persons, but have used Mrs., Mr., Goodwife and Goodman indiscriminately, the Records

themselves having little of Uniformity in this Particular.

² The Rev. John Davenport, afterwards of the First Church, Boston.

spoke to this Effect,—If these be the Markes of a Witch, I am one, or I have such Markes.”

Mrs. Davenport corroborated the Evidence given by her Husband. “Goodwif Sherwood of Fairfield affirmeth vpon Oath, that vpon some Debate betwixt Mr. Ludlow and Goodwife Staplies, she heard Mr. Ludlow charge Goodwif Staplies with a Tract of lying, and that in Discourse she heard him so charge her seuerall Times.”

Hester, Wife of Andrew Ward, testified, “that aboute a Day after that Goodwife Knapp was condemned for a Witch, she goeing to the Prison House where said Knapp was kept, she, the said Knapp, voluntarily, without any Occasion giuen her, said that Goodwife Staplies, told her that an Indian brought vnto her, the said Staplies, two little Things brighter than the Light of the Day, and told the said Goodwife Staplies they were Indian Gods, as the Indian called them, and the Indian withall told her, the said Staplies, if she would keepe them, she should be so big Rich, all one God; and that the said Staplies told the said Knapp she gaue them again to the said Indian, but she could not tell whether she did so or no.”

Lucy, the Wife of Thomas Pell swore, “that aboute a Day after Goodwife Knapp was condemned for a Witch, Mistris Jones earnestly intreated her to goe to the said Kapp, who had sent for her; that she called the said Hester Ward, and they went together;” that the said Knapp spoke “Word for Word as Hester Ward had

testified. Further, Mistris Pell testified, "that she being one of y^e Women that was required to search the said Knapp before she was condemned; and then Mistris Jones pressed the said Knapp to confess whether ther were any other that were Witches; because Goodwife Bassett, when she was condemned, said there was another Witch in Fairfield, that held her Head full high; and then the said Goodwife Knapp stepped a little aside, and told her, this deponent, Goodwife Bassett meant not her. She asked her whom she meant, and she named Goodwife Staplyes, and then uttered the same Speeches as formerly concerning the Indian Gods."

Elizabeth Brewster swore, "that after Goodwife Knap was executed, as soone as she was cut downe, she, the said Knapp, being carried to the Graue Side, Goodwife Staplyes with some other Women went to search the said Knapp, concerning findeing out Teates; and Goodwife Staplyes handled her very much, and called to Goodwife Lockwood, and said, those were no Witches Teats, but such as she herself had, and other Women might have the same; and wringing her Hands and takeing y^e Lords Name in her Mouth, and said,—Will you say these were Witches Teates, they were not, and called upon Goodwife Lockwood to come and see them. Then she called on Goodwife Odell to come and examine the Teats, for she had been one of the Searchers before the Execution, but she would not. Then she [Staplies] called Goodwife Lockwood to come

forward and examine the Teats, and said to her,— Will you say these are Witch Teats? I have such myself, and so have you. Goodwife Lockwood replied, if I had such I would be hanged, and deserve it too. Then Goodwife Odell came neare, and told Goodwife Staplies that no honest Woman had such Teats. And then all the Women rebuking her [Staplies] and said they were Witches Teates; then the said Staplies yielded it." Her yielding doubtless amounted to this, that finding she could not convince the others, ceased to say Anything further at that Time, as sensible People do now-a-days.

Mary Brewster testified that she was "at the Grave-Side" after the Execution, and saw Goodwife Staplies make the Examination of the Teats, but "went away, as having no Desire to look vpon them."

Susan, Wife of Robert Lockwood, swore that she was at the Execution of Goodwife Knapp, "that was hanged for a Witch," and after she was cut down and brought to the Grave was present with other Women to search for Teats; that Goodwife Staplies was handling the dead Woman "where the Teates were;" that Goodwife Staplies "stood vp and called three or four Times, and bid me come looke of them." When she had done so Mrs. Staplies asked her Opinion, as to whether they were Witch Teats? She answered, "No Matter. She had Teates, and confessed she was a Witch. That was sufficient." Whereupon Mrs. Staplies said: "If these be

Teates, here are no more than I myself have, or any other Woman, or you either if you would search your Body." Susan Lockwood replied that she did not know what Mrs. Staplies had, but for herself, "if any finde any such Things about me, I deserued to be hanged as she was."

"Thomas Sheruington and Christopher Combstocke and Goodwife Baldwine were altogether at the Prison House where Goodwife Knapp was, and the said Goodwife Baldwin asked her the said Knapp whether she knew of any other [Witch]. She said there were some, or one, that had received Indian Gods that were very bright. Baldwin asked her how she could tell if she were not a Witch herself. She said the party told her so, and her Husband was Witness to it."

Rebecka, Wife of Cornelius Hall, swore that when Mrs. Knapp was on her way to be executed, Mr. Ludlow and her Father (Mr. Jones) pressing the said Knapp to confesse that she was a Witch, Mrs. Staplies said, "Why should she confesse that which she was not? She made no Doubt if she were one she would confesse it."

Deborah Lockwood, aged about Seventeen, swore, that she was present when Mrs. Knapp was going to Execution, "betweene Tryes and the Mill, she heard Goodwife Staplyes say to Goodwife Gould, she was perswaded Goodwife Knapp was no Witch. Goodwife Gould said, Sister Staplyes, she is a Witch, and hath confessed having had Familiarity with the Deuill. Stap-

lies replied, I was with her Yesterday or last Night, and she said no such Thing as I heard."

Bethia Brundish, aged about Sixteen, said as she was "goeing to Execution of Goodwife Knapp, who was condemned for a Witch by the Court and Jury at Fairfield, there being present herselfe and Deborah Lockwood and Sarah Cabel, she heard Goodwife Staplyes say, that she thought Goodwife Knapp was no Witch, and Goodwife Gould presently reproved her for it."

Goodwife Whitlocke of Fairfield was the next Witness. She testified before Mr. William Fowler of Milford, May 27th, 1654, was present at the Execution of Mrs. Knapp, "and nex to Goody Stapleys when they were goeing to put the dead Corpes into the Grave, seuerall Women were looking for the Markes of a Witch vpon the dead Body, and seuerall of them said they could find none, and this Deponent said, nor I; and she heard Goodwife Staplyes say, nor I; then came one that had searched the said Witch, and shewed them the Markes that were vpon her; then Goodwife Staplyes said she never saw such in all her Life; and that she was perswaded that no honest Woman had such Things as those were."

Goodwife Barlow of Fairfield similarly testified. She with one of her Neighbours desired to see the Marks of a Witch when Mrs. Knapp was ready to be buried, and they looked but found none. Then Goodwife Staplyes came and one or two more. "Goodwife Staplleyes kneeled

downe by them, and they all looked but found them not, and said they saw Nothing but what is common to other Women; but after they found them they all wondered, and Goodwife Staplyes in Particular, and said they never saw such Things in their Life before, so they went away."

The Wife of John Thompson of Fairfield went to the Grave also with the others, and "desired to see the Marks of the Witch," but found none at first; "then the Midwife came and shewed them," and Goodwife Staplyes exclaimed as stated by the other Witnesses. The Wife of Richard Lyon, and Goodwife Squire of Fairfield swore also to the same purport.

Goodwife Sherwood of Fairfield swore that on the Day Mrs. Knapp was condemned, "she was there to see her, all being gone forth but Goodwife Odill and herself, then there came in Mistris Pell and her two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, Goody Lockwood and Goodwife Purdy." Mistris Pell told Mrs. Kapp she was sent to her "to have her confesse," and that if she knew any other Witches to discover them, that now she was condemned, and must die, her Confession could not prejudice her Case. As to herself and Family, Mistris Pell said they had not testified against her; that "the Jury and Godly Magistrates had found her Guilty, and that the last Evidence cast the Cause."¹ The next day Mistris

¹ This has Reference probably to the Person who testified last before the Jury, on Mrs Knapp's Trial at Fairfield; and from the Testimony of Goodwife Sherwood it is inferred that Goodwife Staplyes was the last Witneff.

Pell went "to the Witch again," with Mr. Jones, Elizabeth and Mary Pell, Mistris Ward and Goodwife Lockwood. Mistris Pell desired Mrs. Knap "to lay open herself, and make Way for the Minister to do her Good." Elizabeth Pell "bid her doe as the other Witch at the other Towne did,¹ and discover all she knew to be Witches." Mrs. Knapp meekly replied that she must not say what was not true, and must not wrong Anybody; that when she came to the Ladder, if she had Anything to say she would say it to Mr. Ludlow and the Minister. Elizabeth Brewster then present said to her, "If you keepe it till you come to the Ladder, the Diuill will have you quick." Mrs. Knapp replied, "you would have me say that Goodwife Staplyes is a Witch, but I have Sins enough to answer for already, and I hope I shall not add to my Condemnation." She denied ever having said she knew of a Witch in the Town.

The poor Woman was evidently crushed by a Swarm of deluded Wretches, all endeavouring to convince her that she was going into Eternity with a Lie on her Tongue, and knowing of other Witches, would not name them; warning her to "take heede that the Deuill perswaded her not to sow malicious Seed to doe hurt when she was dead." At this, and much other similar Stuff, Goodwife Knapp "burst forth into weeping,"

¹ The "other Witch" was executed in 1651.— See ante, *sub* probably a Woman named Bassett, who it would seem had been *also idem*.

and desired her Tormentor to pray for her. Whether Mr. Buckley was present does not appear, but he was at the Execution, and among those who saw the Grave close over her. This was Mr. Gershom Buckley the Minister of Fairfield, and no Voice of his was raised against the Execution, so far as appears anywhere.

With all the Details here related, and accessible to a Historian of Connecticut, it is strange he should say, "From a careful Examination of the Records of New Haven Colony, it does not appear that there ever was even a Conviction for the Crime of Witchcraft, within that Jurisdiction, much less was there ever an Execution!"¹

Not long after Mr. Ludlow was fined twenty-five Pounds for defaming the Character of Mrs. Staplies, he left the Jurisdiction, is said to have gone to Virginia, and nothing was heard of him afterwards. It would seem that he had rendered himself very unpopular by the Part he had taken in bringing Mrs. Knapp to the Gallows. That Unpopularity may have had an earlier Date, perhaps Mrs. Bassett's Prosecution and Execution may have been under his Direction. It is evident that the People were divided into bitter Parties, and that one Party opposed the other, not on the Ground that either disbelieved in Witchcraft, but because of Quarrels which had Nothing to do with that Phantom.

There is a little Uncertainty as to the precise

¹ Hollister's *Hist. Connecticut*, II, 533.

Year in which the grim Messenger of Darknes first appeared in the Disguise of a Bird to a Family in Andover. The following Copy from the original Deposition in the Writer's Possession will display all the Facts for the Reader's Deliberation. It was made before the venerable Governor Bradstreet in 1659, from which it appears that the Visit of the Witch took place about five or six Years previous, namely, in 1653 or 1654. Bradstreet found himself circumstanced similarly to Mr. Pyncheon, not long before, as has been related. These Gentlemen probably would never have taken away the Life of an Individual, although Believers in the Reality of Witchcraft; but if left to themselves would have found ample Excuse for not proceeding to Extremities, from honest Doubts as to the Fact being fully proved.

"The Depositions of Job Tylar aged about 40 Years, Mary his Wife, Moses Tyl^r his Son aged betwixt 17 and 18 Years, and Mary Tylar about 15 Yeares old.

"These Deponents witness that they saw a Thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there House with John Godfery in the Night about the Bignes of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit as big as a Pigion, and did fly about; John Godfery labouring to catch it and the Bird vanished, as they conceived, through the Chinck of a ioynted Bord, and being asked by the Man of the House wherfore it came, he answered, It

came to suck your Wife. This was (as they remember) about 5 or 6 Yeares since.

"Taken vpon Oath of the 4 aboue menconed pties, this 27. 4. 59. before mee

"Simon Bradstreete.

"Ouned in Court 7 M^{ch}, 1665, by Job Tylar and Moses Tylar. E. R. Sec.

"Ouned in Court 13 March 65 by Mary Tyler on her former Oath. E. R. Sc."

1653-5.

The Commotion of 1653, in the Town of New Haven, alleged to have been caused by Witchcraft, must have been long and sadly remembered. At this Period there was living there, a restless inquisitive old Woman, named Elizabeth Godman. She was probably one of the most intense Believers in Witchcraft, being always ready when Anything transpired, which she, in her very limited Knowledge, could not see the remote or even the immediate Cause, to charge it to the Work of the "Diuell," or his Agents, supposed then by Everybody to be hovering in the Air just above them, ready to take advantage of all human Frailties.

How long before the Session of the "Court of Magistrates" of New Haven, which commenced on the 4th of August of this Year, the first Trouble from the "Invisible World" began, cannot be stated; but there was living at New Haven at that Time a Mrs. Godman, as just

mentioned, in the Family of Thomas Johnson. She appears to have previously resided in the "Bay," at or near Boston, at the Time of some Witch Troubles in that Colony, and may have left there in Consequence of those Troubles, but how that may have been cannot be definitely stated. At all Events, many of the first People of New Haven saw, or thought they saw Cause to accuse Mrs. Godman of Witchcraft; but the Prosecutions which followed in Consequence were instituted by Mrs. Godman herself. She went before the Court for Redress, because of, as she alleged, false Accusations; but as the Parties accused were of the highest Standing the Tables were at once turned, because the Court believed her Accusers instead of her. Among these were Goodwife Larremore, Goodman Jeremy Whitnells, Mr. Stephen Goodyear, and Mrs. Goodyear, Mr. William Hooke, and Mrs. Hooke, Mrs. Atwater, Hannah and Elizabeth Lamberton, Goodwife Thorpe, Mrs. Bishop, Mary Miles, "&c."

The Court consisted of Theophilus Eaton, Esq., the Governour, Mr. Stephen Goodyear, Dept. Governour, Francis Newman, Capt. John Astwood and Mr. William Leete, Magistrates.

The first who gave her Reasons for what she had said of Mrs. Godman, was Goodwife Larremore. She said that as soon as "she saw her come in at Goodman Whitnells she thought of a Witch; once she spoke to that Purpose at Mr. Hookes; and her Ground was because Mr. Da-uenport, about that Time, had occasion in his

Ministry to speak of Witches; and showed that a froward discontented Frame of Spirit was a Subject fitt for y^e Devill to worke vpon in that way, and she looked vpon Mrs. Godman to be of such a Frame of Spirit, but for saying so at Goodman Whitnells she denies it." Mrs. Godman answered that Mr. Whitnel's Maid confirmed what she said; but when the Maid came she said she thought she heard Goodwife Larremore say "she thought of a Witch in the Bay when she see Mrs. Godman." The Governor asked Mrs. Larremore if she thought Mrs. Godman a Witch, and she said she did not. The Court then told Mrs. Godman that she had warned divers Persons to appear, and demanded of her what her Charges were against them. She said they had given out Speeches that made Folks think she was a Witch; "and first she charged Mrs. Atwater to be y^e Cause of all;" who had said she was a Witch, and that Hobbamock (the Divil of the Indians) was her Husband. The Court informed her that she could prove Nothing, although she had been notified to have her Witneses ready.

Then "fundrie Passages in y^e Wrighting were read." As "y^e Wrighting" is not given in the Record, it is conjectured that it was Notes taken before a previous Court, and consisted of Charges and Evidence going to prove that Mrs. Godman was a Witch; for when the Writing was read the Court inquired of her "if these Things did not giue just Ground of Suspition to all that heard them, that she was a Witch?" She con-

fessed they did; "but said if she spake such Things as is in Mr. Hookes Relation, she was not herselfe; but Mrs. Hooke testified that she was in a sober Frame, and spake in a deliberate Way, as ordinarily she is at other Times."

Besides what was evidenced in the "Wrighting," Mrs. Godman was reminded of what was said at the Governour's, where the Writing was made, "about Mr. Goodyeares falling into a swonding Fitt, after he had spoken Something one Night in the Exposition of a Chapter, which she, being present, liked not; but said it was against her, and as soon as Mr. Goodyeare had done Duties, she flung out of the Roome in a discontented Way, and cast a fierce Looke vpon Mr. Goodyeare as she went out; and immediately Mr. Goodyeare, though well before, fell into a Swond. And beside her notorious lying in this Busines, for being asked how she came to know this, she said she was present, yet Mr. Goodyeare, Mrs. Goodyeare, Hannah and Elizabeth Lamberton all affirm she was not in y^e Roome, but gone vp into the Chamber."

The Court, having acted the Part of an Attorney for the Persons accused, now summed up their Judgment in these Words: That "Mrs. Godman hath vnjustly called heither the seuerall Persons before named, being she can proue Nothing against them, and that her Cariage doth justly render her suspitious of Witchcraft, which she herselfe in so many Words confesseth, therefore the Court wisheth her to looke to her Car-

riage, for if further Proove come, these Passages will not be forgotten, and therefore gaue her Charge not to goe in an offensive Way to Folkes Houses in a rayling Manner, as it seemeth she hath done, but that she keepe her Place, and meddle with her owne Busines.

On the previous Examination of Mrs. Godwin, she was asked what she had against Mr. and Mrs. Hooke? It seems they had intimated that she had caused the Sicknes of their Son. Now "Mr. Hooke said hee was not without Feares, and hee had Reasons for it, because shee was shut out at Mr. Atwaters vpon Suspition, and he was troubled in his Sleepe aboute Witches when his Boye was sicke, which was in a verrey strang Manner; and he looked vpon her as a mallitious one, prepared to that Mischief; and she would often speak aboute Witches and rather justifie them, and said, Why doe they provoake them? Why do they not let them come into the Church? Another Time she said she had some Thoughts, what if the Devill should come to sucke her and she resolved he should not."

Another of Mr. Hooke's Accusations was that Mrs. Godwin would know what was said and done at Church Meetings, before the Meetings were over, "as aboute Delaware Bay, aboute Mr. Cheever, and aboute Goodman Lawfon, and some other Things." An Indian Squaw Servant named Time, figured also as a Witness against her. When Time asked Mrs. Godman how she knew Things? She answered she would not tell.

To which Time said "Did not y^e Devill tell you?" Quite as senseless was the Testimony of one Henry Boutle; to the Effect that Mrs. Godwin talked and muttered to herself. Mr. Hooke testified further, that he had heard that Witches, that is, Persons afflicted "that way, would hardly be kept away from y^e Houses where they doe Mischief; and so it was with her when his Boy was sicke, she would not be kept away from him, nor gett away when she was there; and one Time Mrs. Hooke bid her goe away, and thrust her from y^e Boy, but she turned againe, and said she would looke on him." On one Occasion Mrs. Goodyeare and Mrs. Godwin had a Talk as to the Occasion of the Illness of the Child. The last named asked the other if she thought it was bewitched? Her answer implied the Affirmative. And when Mr. Goodyeare asked Mrs. Godwin if she was not the Cause of the Boy's Sicknes? "She denyed it, but in such a Way as if she could scarce denye it."¹ In¹being importuned to give a Reason for the Boy's Sicknes, she said it might be "that he had turned his Braines with sliding;" yet she doubted not he would recover, "though he was handled in such a strange Manner as the Doctor said he had not met with the Like."

Mr. Hooke appears as the leading Accuser. In the Course of his Evidence he said that when

¹ For Shallowness of Understanding it would be difficult to find a Parallel to this. Believe a Person bad enough to be a Witch, and yet the same Person hesitate to tell a Lie!

Mr. James Bishop was married, Mrs. Godwin came to him in much Trouble, "so as he thought it might be from some Affection" she had for Mr. Bishop; so he asked her if that were not the Cause, and she said it was. Mr. Hooke further adds, that as soon as Mr. and Mrs. Bishop were "contracted," Mrs. Bishop fell into "very strang Fitts, which hath continewed, at Times ever since; and much Suspition there is that she hath bine the Cause of the Loss of Mrs. Byshop's Children, for she could tell when Mrs. Bishop was to be brought to bedd." When Mrs. Godman was asked why Mrs. Bishop's Children died, she said she supposed it was because of the Mother's "longing," or something to that Effect; and Jane Hooke said that Mrs. Godman told her that Mrs. Bishop was much "given to longing, and that was the Reason she lost her Children."

Another very remarkable Circumstance was, and it was a "suspitious" one, that on a certain Time she knew that Mrs. Atwater had Figs in her Pocket. She knew she had because she smelt them, but Jane Hooke was present at the Time and could not smell Figs; therefore Mrs. Godman came under additional "Suspition" of Witchcraft. And Mrs. Atwater said Mrs. Godman "could tell that they at one time had Pease Porridge, when they could none of them tell how she came to know" it. Further, Mrs. Atwater said that on the night the Figs were smelt, they had Strangers to Supper, and Mrs. Godman was there; "she cutt a Sopp and put in Pann;

Betty Brewster called the Maide to tell her, and said she [Godman] was aboute her Workes of Darknes, and was suspitious of her, and that Night Betty Brewster was in a most miserable Case, hearing a most dreadfull Noife, which put her in great Feare and Trembling, which put her into such a Sweate as she was all on a Water when Mary Miles came to go to Bed, who had fallen a sleepe by the Fire, which she vsed not to doe, and in y^e Morning she looked as one y^t had bine almost Dead." Mrs. Atwater now told Mrs. Godwin she was suspitious of her, and "forwarned her of her House;" at which "she said she would haue her before y^e Court; yet the next Night she came againe for Beare."

With such trifling Details was much Time consumed by the Court, occupying several Days and many Pages of its Records. So much only was intended to be given here as would enable future Inquirers into the Condition of Society and its Laws at this Period in the Life of New England, to form a correct Opinion. No Decision of the Court is recorded, respecting the Disposall of Mrs. Godman. But about two Years later, namely, on the 17th of October, 1655, she was called before the Court of Magistrates, consisting of Theophilus Eaton, Esq., Governour, Francis Newman, Mr. Benjamin Fenn, and Mr. William Leete, Magistrates. Being "called before this Court and told that vpon Grounds formerly declared, which stand vpon Record, she by her owne Confession remains vnder Suspition

for Witchcraft, and one more is now added, and that is, that one time this last Summer, comeing to Mr. Hookes to beg some Beare, was at first denied; but after, she was offered some by his Daughter which stood ready drawne, but she refused it and would haue some newly drawne, which she had, yet went away in a muttering discontented Manner; and after this, that Night, though the Beare was good and fresh, yet the next Morning was hott, soure and ill tasted; yea so hott as the Barrell was warme without Side; and when they opened the Bung it steamed forth. They brewed againe and it was so also, and so continewed foure or fise Times, one after another." Such were the principal Charges against her; at least these thus vaguely set forth appear in the Records of the Supreme Court of the Colony, then denominated the "Court of Magistrates."

The Records contain none of the Evidence which she brought forward on her Part, but say "she brought diuers to the Court that they might say something to cleare her, and much Time was spent in hearing them, but to little purpose; the Grounds of Suspition remaining full as strong as before, and she found full of lying; wherefore the Court declared vnto her, that though the Euidence is not sufficient as yet to take away her Life, yet the Suspitions are cleere and many, which she cannot by all the Meanes she hath vsed, free herself from; therefore she must forbear from goeing from House to House to give

Offence, and carry it orderly in the Family where she is; which, if she doe not, she will cause the Court to committ her to Prison again; and that she doe now presently, vpon her Freedom giue Securitie for her good Behaiour: and she did now, before the Court, ingage fifty Pound of her Estate, that is in Mr. Goodyeers Hand, for her good Behaiuor, which is further to be cleered next Court, when Mr. Goodyeare is at Home."

As no notice appears in the Records of the "next Court," no further Proceedings, were probably had against her; and from the New Haven Records we learn that Mrs. Godman lived in the Family of Thomas Johnson, and that she died on the 9th of October, 1660.¹

1655.

An Abstract of the Laws of New England, as prepared by the Rev. Mr. John Cotton was published in London. In this, among the Capital Crimes is Witchcraft, "which is Fellowship by Covenant with a familiare Spirit, to be punished with Death." It futher enacts, that, Consulters with Witches not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by Death or Banishment, or other suitable Punishment."²

It was thought an appropriate Time to re-enact and promulgate Laws against Familiarity with the Devil, the Fathers of that Day being weak

¹ See *Colonial Records of New Haven*, I, 29, 151.

² *Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers*, 172.

enough to suppose they could prevent it; and we are told—what it is easy to believe—that Accusations at this Period were common in all Parts of New England.¹ One certainly was executed in Boston in 1656, but her Prosecution and Condemnation took place the Year before. This was Mrs. Anne Hibbins, Wife of Mr. William Hibbins.² It is said that several Persons were executed in the Vicinity and certainly one in Boston, in 1655¹ but no Names or other Facts appear.

1656.

Respecting the Execution of Mrs. Hibbins, that those who consummated it may bear their Share of the Transaction, their Names are here subjoined: John Endicott and Richard Bellingham were Governour and Deputy Governour; Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Robert Bridges, Thomas Wiggin, Daniel Gookin, Daniel Denison, Simon Willard, and Humphrey Atherton were Assistants; Edward Rawson was Secretary.

The Case is abruptly brought up on the 14th of May in the General Court, and thus disposed of; the Jury having failed to bring her in guilty: “The Magistrates not receaving the Verdict of the Jury in Mrs. Hibbens hir Case, having binn on Triall for Witchcraft, it came, and fell of

¹ Dr. William Bentley, the excellent Historian of Salem.

² For further Particulars, see *Hist. and Antiqs. Boston*, 346.

Courfe to the Generall Court. Mrs. Ann Hibbins was called forth, appeared at the Barr. The Indictment againft her was read, to which ſhe answered, Not guilty, and was willing to be trjed by God and this Court. The Evidences againft hir was read, the Partjes wittneſſing being preſent, hir Answers conſidered on and the whole Court being mett together, by theire Vote, determined that Mrs. Anne Hibbens is guilty of Witchcraft, according to the Bill of Indictment found againft hir by the Jury of Life and Death. The Governour, in open Court, pronounc't Sentence accordingly; declaring ſhe was to goe from the Barr to the Place from whence ſhe came, and from thence to the Place of Execution, and there to hang till ſhe was dead." Then follows: "Itt is ordered, that Warrant ſhall iſſue out from the Secretary to the Marshall General for the Execution of Mrs. Hibbens, on the 5th Day next come Fortnight, preſently after the Lecture at Boſton, being the 19th of June next; the Marshall Generall taking with him a ſufficient Guard."

The Evidence which ſent this poor Woman to an ignominious Grave, was doubtleſs ſimilar to that given at other Trials; but if preſerved it has not been met with. According to Hutchinson, this was the ſecond Execution for Witchcraft in New England, of which there is any Record.

In Hampton, New Hampſhire, a Proſecution commenced againſt a ſuppoſed Witch in the Year

1656; and although Everybody in the Town, or nearly Everybody "and his Relations" believed the Accused a Witch, she *was* "suffered to live." Her Name was Eunice Cole, Wife of William Cole who died in 1662. From his Will made a few Days before his Death, the Inference is drawn that he was much younger than his Wife; but if so it is a somewhat of an anomalous Case, as Eunice was old enough for a Witch six Years earlier, and as a general Thing, only aged Females were Witches in those Days.

According to the unvarying Traditions in the Town, Unice was a terrible Character, who, in the Imaginations of most of the People, could do superhuman Things. The very Mention of her Name would hush crying Children, and hurry truant Boys to School. The Historian of the Town was disposed to give her no enviable Character, averring that "she was a fruitful Source of Vexation for a long Series of Years; hated and despised for her ugly and malicious Disposition, and feared on account of her supposed Alliance with the Devil."¹ But the diligent Historian did not meet with her earliest Prosecution. He informs us that soon after the Death of her Husband, the Deputy from the Town to the General Court was charged with a Petition to allow the Town to detain "Unice Coule att the House of Correction according to the Court Order." About three Years later,

¹ *Manuscript History of Hampton*, by the late E. W. Toppan.

namely, October, 1665, William Salter acknowledged the receipt of eight Pounds, "on Account of the Town of Hampton, being due unto me for the Maintainance of Eunice Cole, Prisoner." And, on the 8th of June, 1668, Mr. Salter acknowledged the Receipt of another eight Pounds, "in hoghead Staves, for keeping Goodwife Cole this Yeare."

Eunice seems to have been alternately at large and in Prison; and although represented as being a Terror to the Town, owing to her supposed League with the Devil, she does not seem to have prevented mischievous Youngsters from exercising their diabolical or some other Propensity of playing all Kinds of malicious Tricks upon her. Hence she became a poor Outcast, despised by the Ignorant, and but faintly pitied, if at all, by the better Part of the People. Hence the Cry of Witch! Witch! was easily started at any Time, and as late as September, 1680, she was up before a "Quarter Court" in Hampton, Maj. Richard Waldron presiding, "being by Authority committed to Prison on Suspition of being a Witch; and from Examination of Testimonys the Court vehemently suspects her so to be." But the Court decided that "no full Proof" appearing, ordered her to be imprisoned, and "a Lock kept on her Leg," at the Pleasure of the Court, and the Select Men "to take Care to provide for her as formerly." She must now have been very old, as it was twenty-four Years after her Prosecution in 1656. For some Years, how many is

not stated, she lived alone in a little Hut which stood on a Spot in the Rear of that on which the Academy now stands. In that she died, with none to assuage her last Sufferings. Some Days having elapsed before her Death was known, and then, according to the current Tradition, it required no little Bravery on the Part of the Inhabitants, to muster Courage enough to break into her Cabin; this was at length effected, and the Remains dragged out, a Hole dug near by, and the Body tumbled in, and thus she was there buried; and then a Stake was driven through the Body agreeably to the Superstition of the Times.

So far as is known, the following Depositions are the first Acts in the Tragedy of Eunice Cole. Thomas Colman or Coleman, on whose Account an Action was commenced, settled in Hampton before 1650. He came there from Newbury, in which Place he is found as early as 1635. His Children, born in Hampton, were Benjamin, 1640; Joseph, 1642; and Isaac, 1647. Abraham Drake was Son of Robert, at whose House the Meeting of the "Celekte" Men was held, as mentioned in the Deposition. Robert Drake and his Family came from Colchester, in Essex, England. Coleman, if the same mentioned in the *Founders of New England*, came from Marlborough in Wiltshire, in 1635.

"The Deposition of Thomas Coleman and Abraham Drake. These Deponents saith, aboute a Yeare and halfe ago, thay being at Robart Drakes Houce at a Metinge with the

Celekte Men, Eunes Cooles cam in two the said Houce and demand Help of the Celkt Men for Wood or other Thinges, and the Celekt Men tould hur shee had an Estate of hur oune, and neded noe Help of the Toune; whar vppon Eunes ancered, they cold help Good man Robe, being a luste Man, and shee coolde hau none, but Eunes said all ould not, or *should not doe*, and about two or thre Dayes after this, said Robe lost a Kowe and a Sheepe yerry strangely, and one of the Men then presant tould Yunes Cooles shee shold looke at a Hand of God in it, for withdrawing the Pepell Hartes from helping of hur. Eunes Cooles ancered, noe, twas the Deuill did it. Deposed in Court, 5 September, 56.

“EDW. RAWSON, *Secret.*”

“Thomas Coleman and John Redman, deposed to y^e Evidence, and pticularly to y^e Words *should not doe*. 5th September, 56.

“EDW. RAWSON, *Secrety.*”

[The last Sentence in the first Paragraph, and all of the last Paragraph are in the Autograph of Secretary Rawson.]

One Case of Witchcraft is recorded this Year at Portsmouth in New Hampshire. Jane, the Wife of Thomas Walford, fell under as strong Suspitions as could well be imagined; and probably as much to the Point as any ever indulged in elsewhere; but fortunately the Authorities could not be instigated by the Clamours of the Multitude to proceed to Extremities.

The Evidence against Goodwife Walford being,

in some Respects a little peculiar, a Specimen of it follows, She was brought before the Court of Assistants on the Complaint of Susannah Trimings, who testified: "As I was going Home on Sunday Night, the 30th of March, I heard a rustling in the Woods, which I supposed to be occasioned by Swine; and presently there appeared a Woman whom I apprehended to be old Goodwife Walford. She asked me where my Confort was. I answered I had none. She said, thy Confort is at Home by this Time. Lend me a Pound of Cotton. I told her I had but two Pounds in the House, and I would not spare any to my Mother. She said I had better have done it, that my Sorrow was very great already, and it should be greater, for I was going a great Journey, but should never come there. She then left me, and I was struck, *as with a Clap of Fire* on the Back, and she vanished toward the Water Side, in my Apprehension, in the *Shape of a Cat*. She had on her Head a white linnen Hood, tied under her Chin, and her Waistcoat and Petticoat were red, with an old green Apron, and a black Hat upon her Head.

"Taken upon Oath, 18 April, 1656, before Bryan Pendleton, Henry Sherburn, and Renald Fernald."

If this Testimony did not serve to convict Mrs. Walford of Witchcraft, it will serve some future Artist as an excellent Description of the Costume of an old Woman of this Period; for there may be no Question but that the Witness described the

common Dress of the Party against whom she was witnessing, which no Doubt was the nearly universal Costume at the Time.

Oliver Trimmings, Husband of this Witness, testified: "My Wife came Home in a sad Condition. She passed by me with her Child in her Arms, laid the Child on the Bed, sat down upon the Chest, and leaned upon her Elbow. Three Times I asked her how she did. She could not speak. I took her in my Arms and held her up, and repeated the Question. She forced Breath, and Something stopped in her Throat, as if it would have stopped her Breath. I unlaced her Clothes, and soon she spake, and said, Lord have Mercy upon me, this wicked Woman will kill me. I asked her what Woman. She said Goodwife Walford. I tried to persuade her it was only her Weakness. She told me no, and related as above, that her Back was as a Flame of Fire, and her lower Parts were, as it were, numb, and without Feeling. I pinched her, and she felt not. She continued that Night, and the Day and Night following, very ill, and is still bad of her Limbs, and complains still daily of it."

Sworn as above.

Nicholas Rowe testified: "That Jane Walford, shortly after she was accused, came to the Deponent in Bed, in the Evening, and put her Hand upon his Breast, so that he could not speak and was in great Pain till the next Day. By the Light of the Fire in the next Room, it appeared to be Goody Walford, but she did not speak. She

repeated her Visit about a Week after, and did as before, but said Nothing."

Eliza Barton deposed, that "she saw Susannah Trimmings at the Time she was ill, and her Face was coloured and spotted with several Colours. She told me the Story, who replied, that it was Nothing but her Fantasy. Her Eyes looked as if they had been scalded."

John Puddington said, that "three Years ago, Goodwife Walford came to his Mothers. She said that her own Husband called her an old Witch; and when she came to her Cattle, her Husband would bid her begone; for she did overlook the Cattle, which is as much as to say in our Country bewitching."

Agnes Puddington said, that "on the 11th of April the Wife of Mr. Evans came to her House, and lay there all Night; that a little after Sunset she saw a yellowish Cat; and Mrs. Evans said she was followed by a Cat wherever she went. John came and saw a Cat in the Garden, took down his Gun to shoot her. The Cat got upon a Tree, and the Gun would not take Fire, and afterward the Cock would not stand. She afterwards saw three Cats. The yellow one vanished away on the plain Ground, and she could not tell which Way they went."¹

Three others deposed that they heard Elizabeth, the Wife of Nicholas Rowe, say there were three Men Witches at Strawberry Bank. One

¹ Adams's *Annals Portsmouth*, rectifications from the *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*. 38-49, with Additions and Cor-

was Thomas Turpin, who was drowned; Another was "old Ham. The other should be Nameless, because he should be Blameless."

Upon these Testimonies Goodwife Walton was bound over to the next Court, which sat in June following, when she was again "bound over." When the Action was finally dropped does not appear, but about thirteen Years after, namely, in 1669, Jane prosecuted one Robert Coutch or Couch, for Slander, in that said Couch had reported that she was a Witch. She got her Case, but not her Claim entirely. The Court seem to have thought, that to be called a Witch, at that Time, was not very damaging to the Character of an old Woman, who probably, or possibly had a high Character as a Termagant. They therefore ordered Couch to pay her five Pounds, and the Court the Costs of the Prosecution.

The following is given from spicy George Bishop,¹ who not very unaptly speaks of the "Bloody Laws and Proceedings" in Massachusetts during the Administration of Lieutenant Governour Bellingham as "Draconica." He says, and it is believed truly, that some of the Quakers who came to Boston this Year were treated as Witches, and accused by Persons in Authority as being such.

Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, were, for dif-

¹ *New England Judged, by the Spirit of the Lord, &c.* But for a more full Detail respecting the Treatment of those misguided Women, the Reader is referred to *Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers*, II, 177, &c. A Work of the highest Authority in Quaker History.

tributing certain Books to make Profelytes to the Principles of their Sect, sent to Prison by the Governor, declaring them Witches, "and appointing Women to search them, who took Men to help them, in Case they had refused, who stripped them stark naked, not missing Head or Feet, searching betwixt their Toes, and amongst their Hair, turning and abusing their Bodies in such a Manner, as Modesty will not admit to mention."

Their Books were taken from them, and "the Executioners appointed to destroy them." Although these Females were denounced as Witches, and although the Law existed that Witches should be put to Death, the Authorities either set the Law at Defiance, or they did not believe their own Charges. No Escape from this Dilemma could be pretended. But they undertook to cheat the Devil by transporting them beyond Seas.

We do not hear that Cassandra Southwick was accused of being a Witch, and yet if any Quaker ever was a Witch she must have been one, as the Authorities treated her in the same Manner as they did the two Females just noticed. Whittier, however, has given the worst Phase of the Proceedings in Cassandra's Case, relying, it seems, entirely upon George Bishop, while Besse is more reliable.

She is thus poetically painted in Prison, the Night before she was to be shipped away to be sold for Prison Fees:

"All Night I sat unsleeping, for I knew that on the Morrow
The Ruler and the cruel Priest would mock me in my Sorrow,
Dragged to their Place of Market, and bargained for and sold,
Like a Lamb before the Shambles, like a Heifer from the Fold!

"Slow broke the gray cold Morning; again the Sunshine fell,
Flecked with the Shade of Bar and Grate within my lonely
Cell;
At length the heavy Bolts fell back, my Door was open cast,
And slowly at the Sheriff's Side, up the long Street I passed;
I heard the Murmur round me, and felt, but dared not see,
How, from every Door and Window, the People gazed on me.
And Doubt and Fear fell on me, Shame burned upon my
Cheek,
Swam Earth and Sky around me, my trembling Limbs grew
weak."

Having arrived at the Place of Embarcation,
Cassandra is made to say:

"And there were ancient Citizens, cloak-wrapped and grave
and cold,
And grim and stout Sea-captains with Faces bronzed and old,
And on his Horse, with Rawson, his cruel Clerk at hand,
Sat dark and haughty Endicott, the Ruler of the Land.

"Dark lowered the Brows of Endicott, and with a deeper Red
O'er Rawson's wine-empurpled Cheek the Flush of Anger
spread;
'Good People,' quoth the white-lipped Priest, 'heed not her
Words so wild,
Her Master speaks within her,—the Devil owns his Child!'

"Then to the stout Sea-captains, the Sheriff, turning, said,—
'Which of ye, worthy Seamen, will take this Quaker Maid?
In the Isle of fair Barbadoes, or on Virginia's Shore,
You may hold her at a higher Price than Indian Girl or
Moor.'"

And so on, with full poetic License, the Poet

tells us that no one would undertake the Transportation of the "Quaker Maid," and that she thus triumphantly and scornfully added:

"I looked on haughty Endicott; with Weapon half-way drawn,
Swept round the Throng his Lion Glare of bitter Hate and
Scorn;
Fiercely he drew his Bridle-rein, and turned in Silence back,
And sneering Priest and baffled Clerk rode murmuring in his
Track."

1657.

A Case of the supposed black Art of Diabolism disturbed the People of Easthampton on Long Island in 1657. A Mrs. Garlicke was brought before the Town Court on Suspicion of Witchcraft, and a Number of Witnesses were examined in Support of the Charge. The Magistrates after hearing the Testimony,¹ and not being skilled in the Science of Demonology,² concluded to send the Accused to the General Court of Connecticut, in which the occult Doctrine would probably be more safely applied.

Goodwife Garlicke was accordingly sent to Hartford, and the General Court took the following Action upon her Case² at the May Term, 1658. Easthampton was then within the Jurisdiction of the Colony of Connecticut, having been formally "annexed" at this Court. The Court returned the Woman, and in a Letter signified to the Town Authorities, that they had

¹ Wood, *Hist. L. Island*, 24.

² Prime, *Hist. L. Island*, 89.

duly considered the Case of Goodwife Garlicke, having "passed a legall tryall therevpon; wherevpon, tho there did not appeare sufficient Evidence to proue her guilty, yet we cannot but well approue and commend the Christian Care and Prudence of those in Authority with you, in searching into y^r Case. Also we thinke good to certify, that it is desired and expected, by this Court, that you should carry neighbourly and peaceably, without just Offence to Jos. Garlicke¹ and his Wife, and that they should doe the like to you. And y^e Charge, we conceive and advise, may be justly borne as followeth: That Jos. Garlick should beare y^e Charge of his Wives Dyet and Ward at Home, with y^e Charge of her Tranceportation Hither and returne Home; that your Towne should beare all their owne Charges at Home, and the Charge of their Messengers and Witnesses in bringinge the Case to Tryall here and their returne Home. The Court being content to put y^e Charge of the Tryall here, vpon y^e Countrys Account."²

It is creditably reported by a local Authority, that Mrs. Garlick had been employed in the Family of Capt. Lyon Gardiner, and that another Woman in the same Employ had accused Mrs.

¹ His Christian Name may be very uncertain from what is here or elsewhere given of it. Thompson, *Hist. Long Island*, I, 302, says it was *Joshua*, Prime has it *John*. Thompson is probably Right. Savage (upon what Authority we do not know) takes the Abbreviation in *Ct. Col. Records*, as printed by Trumbull, to be *Joseph* Josiah would have answered his Purpose as well.

² *Col. Records Connecticut*, I, 572-3.

Garlick of causing the Death of her Child; while, according to Capt. Gardiner, the Woman who had been a Witness against Mrs. Garlick, had taken an Indian Child to nurse, and starved her own Child to Death for the Sake of the Pay she was to receive for supporting the Indian Child.¹

1659.

To what Extent "Witchery" was practised in Say Brook in Connecticut, in 1659, we are not informed; that it did exist, and disturb the People there is very sure, or the following Order would not have been passed by the General Court of that Colony; namely, that Mr. Samuel Willis "is requested to goe downe to Sea Brook, to assist y^e Maior in examininge the Suspitions about Witchery, and to act therein as may be requisite."² We do not find any Mention of the Case afterwards, which leads to the Belief that Mr. Willis did not find enough of Witchery to make any Report upon to the Court.

The "Maior," whose Assistance Mr. Willis was to receive, was Major John Mason, long the chief military Man of Connecticut. He was stationed at Saybrook in 1647.

Mr. Samuel Willis was Son of Mr. George Willis of Hartford, who came from Fenny Compton, in Warwickshire, England, and settled there in 1638, and was Governour of Con-

¹ Prime, in his *History of Long Island*, 89.

² *Connecticut Colonial Records*, I, 338.

necticut in 1642.¹ The Name was afterwards written *Wyllys*, at least in some Branches of the Family, perhaps presuming this to have been the original Spelling; but George the Emigrant signed his Name *Willis* to his Will, and Elsewhere.

There was a Commotion in Andover, Massachusetts, in 1659, which must have been quite considerable, or it would not have caused the venerable Simon Bradstreet to move in the Matter, as there is clear Evidence that he did.

Two original Papers are at Hand, going to show that one John Godfrey of that Town was accused of Witchcraft, that Evidence was taken by Mr. Bradstreet, and that Godfrey was tried at Boston six Years after. The Minutes of Testimony in Mr. Bradstreet's Hand are as follows:

"The Depositions of Job Tylar, aged about 40 Yeares, Mary his Wife, Moses Tylar his Sonn, aged betwixt 17 and 18 Yeares, and Mary Tylar about 15 Yeares old.

"These Deponents witnesse that they saw a Thing like a Bird to come in at the Dore of there House with John Godfrey, in the Night, about the Bignes of a Black Bird or rather bigger, to wit, as big as a Pigion, and did fly about, John Godfrey labouring to catch it, and the Bird vanished, as they conceived through the Chinck of a jointed Board; and being asked by the Man of the House wherefore it came, he answered, it

¹ *Ibidem*, 468-70.

came to fuck your Wife. This was (as they rember) 5 or 6 Years since.

"Taken upon Oath of the four aboue mentioned Parties, this 27. 4. 59, before me

"SIMON BRADSTREETE."

How it happened that no legal Steps were taken for "five or six Years" after it was discovered that John Godfrey was accompanied by an evil Spirit, or Imp, we are unable to explain. And equally unaccountable it is to explain why six other Years were allowed to pass before any Action was taken on the above Deposition. Whatever the intermediate Steps may have been, if any, they are quite as invisible as those of the preceding "five or six Years." Yet it is certain that the said John Godfrey and his four Accusers did, about six Years after the above Deposition was taken, appear before the Court in Boston; for Edward Rawson, under his own Hand, endorses that Deposition thus: "Owned in Court, 7 March, 1665, by Job Tylar and Moses Tylar." Then again, "Owned in Court, 13 March, 65, by Mary Tyler, on hir former Oath. E. R., Sc."

It seems that for some Reason the Wife of Job Tyler did not arrive as soon as the other Members of the Family, and the Court may have been kept waiting for other Witnesses. At all Events there seems to have been a Backwardness among some of the Witnesses, as will appear by the following Letter from one of them, dated, as will be seen, two Days before two of the Witnesses

appeared in Court. They had probably been all summoned at the same Time, and one of them may have brought Mr. Dane's Letter of Excuse.

"To the honourable Court at Boston.

"May it please your Worships, I received a Warrant under Mr. Secretaries Hand for my Appearance at Boston this Court, to giue in Evidence, about some Words that Godfery spake to mee concerning Witches, the which I understand were shewne in the Court vnder my owne Hand; but considering y^e Necessity thats incumbent by Reason of prevailing Infirmitie, I humbly crave your favourable Interpretation of my Absence; tis not Disrespect, nor Neglect of Dutie, my Conscience witnessing, but Frailtie, Nature, and the Rawnes of the Weather; and now hauing presented y^e Cause, I Craue Leaue to draw a Vayle, desiring Almighty God to be with you, and to conduct you in Pathes of Justice and Rightoufnes, and Rest.

"Your Honours obliged unto

"all due Seruice in the Lord.

"March 5. 65.

FRANCIS DANE."¹

It would be highly gratifying to know the Contents of what was *shewn* in the Court under Mr. Dane's Hand. It must have been very unsatisfactory in making out a Case of Witchcraft, or Mr. Dane would not have been summoned to

¹ Mr. J. W. Dean has given an *Gen. Reg.*, VIII, 147-56. The excellent Account of the DANE Hon. Nathan Dane was descended Family, in the *N. Eng. Hist. and* from John, Brother of Francis.

appear in Person. His Infirmities from Age could not have been great, for he was scarcely fifty Years old.

It is very reasonable to suppose that the Evidence against Godfrey was of too ridiculous a Character to be seriously considered, and that he was discharged. After this he probably left Andover, as the Historian of that Town does not give him a Place in his Work. Whether he belonged to the Hampton Family of Godfrey is not known. He may have been the John Godfrey who came to Newbury in 1634.¹

In the great and distressing Calamity of 1692, Mr. Dane did what he could to allay the Witchcraft Excitement, and had his Observations been listened to, and his Judgment heeded, many Lives would have been saved. But like the Phrensy engendered in the French Revolution, one hundred Years later, this was a Parallel. His Brother John, of Ipswich, was one of the Jurors of the Trials of 1692, and with others signed an Apology afterwards.²

1660.

An Attempt was made at Scituate, in the old Colony of Plymouth, to inaugurate a Crusade against a supposed Witch, but the Plot was too shallow, and whatever there was of Deviltry in it was thrown upon the one who made the Attempt.

¹ See *Founders of New England*, page 70.

² See *The Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, III, 121, 135.

Dinah Sylvester accused the Wife of William Holmes of being a Witch. From the imperfect Record preserved it appears that Dinah swore that Mrs. Holmes appeared to her in the Shape of a Bear, "about a Stones Throw from the Path," perhaps in the Night or Dusk of the Evening, but on this Point the Records are silent. On being questioned "as to what Manner of Tayle the Bear had," Dinah said she could not tell, "because the Bear's Head was towards her." A Blank in the original Record is construed to mean, by the able Historian of the Town¹ where the Case happened, that the Testimony was probably too ridiculous to be entered in full. And the Proceedings at the next Court fully sustain the Remark. Dinah was summoned before the Court, sentenced to pay the Costs of Prosecution, be whipt or make public Acknowledgment for falsely accusing Mrs. Holmes. She chose the latter, and her Acknowledgment was entered on the Records of the Court.

Another Case of recorded Witchcraft in the Old Colony took place in 1676, as will be seen in the Order of Time.

In the Year 1660, Suspicions of Witchcraft fell on Mary Wright of Oyster Bay, Long Island. She was a poor and ignorant Woman, and it became a Matter of grave Necessity, according to the Historian of Long Island,² "that an Offence of such enormous Depravity should be fully and

¹ Samuel Deane, *History Scituate*, 152.

² B. F. Thompson, *History Long Island*, 161-2.

satisfactorily investigated; but as there existed at that Time no domestic Tribunal which the People considered competent to hear and determine a Matter of such Magnitude, or none to which they thought proper to submit the Case, it was finally concluded to transport the accused Party to the General Court of Massachusetts, where Charges of this Sort were more common, and the Proof necessary to support them better understood. She was accordingly arraigned there, and the Matter inquired into with all the Formality usual on such Occasions. The Evidence of her Guilt failed, and she was acquitted of the Crime of Witchcraft. She was nevertheless convicted of being a Quaker, a Crime, in the Estimation of the Court, of almost equal Enormity, and was sentenced to be banished out of the Jurisdiction."

Unfortunately for this Story, Nothing of a legal Proceeding is produced from the Long Island Records, or appears in the General Court Records of Massachusetts. Nor do the Quaker Historians, who let no Name of a persecuted Person escape them, allude to any Charge of Witchcraft having been brought against any one of their Sect at the Period in Question. But under the Year 1664, Sewell,¹ after detailing the Treatment of Christison and others in the "bloody Town of Boston," and lamenting that "no Exhortations seemed to take any Hold of the Persecutors," continues: "For once a Girl of thirteen

¹ *Hist. of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Quakers*, I, 370. Edit. 2 Vols., 8vo., Philadelphia, 1832.

or fourteen Years of Age, called Hannah Wright, whose Sister had been banished for Religion, was stirred with such Zeal, that coming from Long Island, some Hundreds of Miles from Boston, into that bloody Town, she appeared in the Court there, and warned the Magistrates to spill no more innocent Blood. The Saying so struck them at first, that they all sat silent; till Rawson, the Secretary, said: "What, shall we be baffled by such a one as this? Come, let us drink a dram. And here the Historian abruptly leaves his Readers. But in Bessé, under the Year 1661, it is stated that after Sentence of Death was passed on Wenlock Christeson, and he was remanded to Prison to await Execution, which was to be on June 13th (1661), an Order of Court (probably occasioned by some Intelligence from London, of Complaints against them) was issued for the Enlargement of him, and twenty-seven others then in Prison,"¹ for the Crime of being Quakers. All the Names are given, and among them are found those of Mary Wright and Hannah Wright. Neither does George Bishop,² who wrote near the Time, add Anything but the Names before referred to.

1662.

A Woman and her Husband, of the Name of Greensmith, were executed at Hartford in 1662,³

¹ *Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, II, 223-4. Also *Abstract of the Sufferings*, III, 207-8.

² *New England Judged*, 340.

³ From an Entry in Goffe's *Diary*, extracted by Hutchinson, it appears that on Jan. 20, 1662, three Witches were condemned at Hartford, which doubtless refers to this Affair, and the true Date is 1662-3.

or in pursuance of Acts of Witchcraft begun this Year. From what can be learned from Sources now before us, they may have been put to Death by a Mob, as the General Court Records contain no Account of their Trial nor Condemnation. Mrs. Greensmith is alleged to have been "a lewd and ignorant Woman;" that the latter Part of the Charge was true is very likely, judging from the Answers she gave when questioned about the Charge of a League with the Devil. She had been cast into Prison under that Charge, and while she lay there a Woman named Ann, Daughter of John Cole, who lived near a Dutch Family, was seized in a strange Manner with Fits, "wherein her Tongue was improved by a Demon to express Things which she herself knew Nothing of." Among her Incoherencies when in these Fits, she said certain "Persons were consulting how they might carry on mischievous Designs against her; that they would afflict her Body, spoile her Name, &c." After which the Demon said, "Let us confound her Language, that she may tell no more Tales." Then she made Utterances in Dutch, of which Language she knew Nothing. "The Rev. Mr. Stone being by, declared, that he thought it impossible for one not familiar with the Dutch should so exactly imitate the Dutch Tone in the Pronunciation of English." And "several worthy Persons wrote the intelligible Sayings expressed by Ann Cole, whilst she was thus amazingly handled." Among these

"worthy Persons" were "Mr. John Whiting, Mr. Samuel Hooker, and Mr. Joseph Hains."

Among the Attendants on the bewitched Woman, some one of them mentioned the Name of the poor "lewd and ignorant" Woman then lying in Prison, as already mentioned. She was immediately sent for, and charged with certain Acts done and intended to be done against Mrs. Cole; the same having been written down, and now read by Mr. Whiting and Mr. Haines. And we are told that "the Woman being astonished thereat, confessed those Things to be true, and that she and other Persons named in this preternatural Discourse, had had Familiarity with the Devil." But on the next Day, having probably reflected that she had fallen into a Snare prepared for her, was in a Rage against Mr. Haines, and denied all Knowledge of Witchcraft; but at Length, probably bewildered by the strange Questions of her Tormentors, "she declared that the Devil first appeared to her in the Form of a Deer or Fawn;" and that finally "the Devil had frequently carnal Knowledge of her;" that "the Witches had Meetings not far from her House; that some appeared in one Shape, and others in another. One came flying amongst them in the Shape of a Crow." Upon this Confession, with other concurrent Evidence, the Woman was executed; so likewise was her Husband, though he

did not acknowledge himself guilty."¹ There were some other Persons accused at the same Time, but they had the good Fortune to make their Escape by Flight.

It is conclusively added, that, as soon as the suspected Witches were either executed or fled, Mrs. Cole was restored to Health!² But the crowning Part of this Tale is to come, from which it will appear that Mr. and Mrs. Greensmith were not hanged, according to the usual Custom, but "there were some that had a Mind to try whether the Stories of Witches not being able to sink under Water were true," that accordingly a Man and Woman accused by Ann Cole, had their Hands and Feet tied together and cast into the Water, and that they "both swam after the Manner of a Buoy." A third was thrown in, and "he immediately sunk right down."

The Preserver and Relator of this Affair in the Style of the Dark Ages, adds concerning those thus inhumanly executed, "they very fairly took their Flight, not having been seen in that Part of the World since."³

All we find in the Records in which the Name of Greensmith appears, occurs several Years later,

¹ I. Mather, *Remarkable Providences*. Mather composed his Account from a Communication of Mr. John Whiting, before mentioned. The Story as given by the Latter is now published in *Hist. Colls. Ms. H. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 466-9.

² Feb. 24 [1662-3]. After one of the Witches was hanged, the Maid was Well. Goffe's *Diary*, in Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, II, p. 18.

³ *Remarkable Providences*, as before cited.

and is as follows: "This Court impowers Mr. Sam^{ll} Willys, Captⁿ Tallcott and the Secretary [Mr. John Allyn] to make a Deed of Sale to Andrew Benton, of Nath: Greensmith's House and Land, which was seized for Charge expended on said Greensmith, and sold to G. Benton."¹

The diabolical Method of determining whether Persons were Witches by casting them into the Water with their Limbs tied together with Cords, is ascribed by some to that abominable Miscreant, Matthew Hopkins, though it is said to have been recommended by King James (if he did not invent it), who assigned as a Reason, "that as such Persons have renounced their Baptism by Water, so the Water refuses to receive them."

Butler, in his peculiar Manner thus refers to Hopkins, who, it is said, suffered by the same Ordeal by which he had caused the Death, in one Year, of no less than sixty Persons in his own County of Essex:²

"—— the Godly may alledge
For any Thing their Priviledge;
And to the Dev'l himself may go,
If they have Motives thereunto.
For as there is a War between
The Dev'l and them, it is no Sin,
If they by subtle Stratagem,
Make use of him, as he does them.
Has not this present Parliament

¹ Col. Records of Connecticut, II, 91.

² It not being my Purpose to give an Account of Hopkins and his

Acts, I will only refer the Reader to Dr. Hutchinson's *Essay*, p. 81-92, where Enough will be found to enable him to understand Hudibras fully, in the Lines extracted above.

A Legar to the Devil sent,
 Fully empower'd to treat about
 Finding revolted Witches out:
 And has not he within a Year,
 Hang'd Threescore of them in one Shire?
 Some only for not being drown'd,
 And some for sitting above Ground,
 Whole Days and Nights upon their Breeches,
 And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches?
 And some for putting knavish Tricks
 Upon Green-Geese and Turkey Chicks,
 Or Pigs, that suddenly deceast,
 Of Grievs unnat'ral, as he gueft;
 Who after prov'd himself a Witch,
 And made a Rod for his own Breech."¹

In this Connection it will be worth While to notice, that, a Question went about many Years ago in England, respecting Persons formerly burnt for Witchcraft; as to where and when the last Case of the Kind took place? The Answer which was given, has not, it is believed, been called in Question. It amounted to this: It is not quite certain that Amy Duny, and Rose Culender or Callender, condemned by Sir Matthew Hale, at Bury St. Edmunds, were burnt, although by some Accounts it is so stated. In the same Year (1664) Alice Hudson was burnt at York,

¹ Butler's *Hudibras*, *Canto III*, p. 333-4, *edition* 1684. It will be seen by the Authority before cited, that when People began to reflect upon Hopkins's Doings, they seized him, tied his own Thumbs and Toes together, as he used to tie others; in this Condition cast him

into the Water, and he was found to swim as others did. Thus they cleared the Country of him; "and it was a great deal of Pity," says the Relator, "that they did not think of the Experiment sooner."—Dr. Francis Hutchinson, *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft*, 87.

having been condemned for receiving ten Shillings on a certain Time of the Devil. As late as 1722, the Ninth of George the First, a Case occurred at Little Dean, in Scotland, where a Captain David Ross was Judge. But a Girl was Burnt at Glarus, in Ireland, in 1786!

The Experiment of casting into the Water occurred as late as 1785. According to a Report in a Northampton Paper (England), a poor Woman named Sarah Bradshaw, being proceeded against for Witchcraft, was thrown into a Pond. She immediately sank to the Bottom; and thus the Wretches who acted as Executioners were satisfied she had been falsely accused. This occurred at a Place called Mears Ashby.

1665.

During the Administration of the Government of New York by Richard Nicolls, Esq., one Case of Witchcraft, at least, found its Way into the Courts. That they were as common as in other cotemporary Communities of the Day, there is not much Doubt. That they were not Matters of legal Investigation, possibly depended on the Absence of a special Law for such a Contingency, or that the Laws in general were less regarded than they were among their Neighbours in some of the other Colonies. Certainly in New Jersey, the Legends of an existing Witchcraft, or a certain Belief that it had existed there is current in many Places, and a Witch Tree is,

or was, pointed out not many Years ago, in a certain Locality.

The Case which came before the Court of Affizes in New York in 1665, was that of Ralph Hall, and his Wife Mary Hall; and although they were eventually acquitted, they were held in Durance about three Years.¹ The Charge in the Indictment against Hall was that he "upon the 25th Day of December [1663], being Christmas last was twelve Months, and several other Days and Times since that Day, by some detestable and wicked Arts, commonly called Witchcraft and Sorcery, did (as suspected) maliciously and feloniously practise and exercise, at the Town of Seatale-cott [since Setauket, now Brookhaven], in the East Riding of Yorkshire, on Long Island, on the Person of George Wood, late of the same Place, by which wicked and detestable Arts the said George Wood (as is suspected) most dangerously and mortally sickened and languished, and not long after, by the aforesaid wicked and detestable Arts, the said George Wood (as is likewise suspected) died." Also it was alleged, in the same Indictment, that an Infant Child of Ann Rogers, Widow of the aforesaid George Wood, had, "some While after the Death" of Wood, sickened and died, and that its Death was caused by the said Hall. The same Indictment was also recited against the Wife of Hall, and then a Bundle of Depositions was read to the Court (no

¹ It is doubtless to this Case that *York.* refers, p. 166, though in such Watson, in his *Annals of New* an obscure Way it is uncertain.

Witnesses appearing in Person), and the Accused called upon by the Clerk to hold up the right Hand, and the substance of the Charges were reiterated. They pleaded not Guilty, and their Case was committed to the Jury. In due Time the Jury rendered a Verdict, to the Effect that they "found some Suspicions of what the Woman was charged with, but Nothing considerable of Value to take away her Life; but in Reference to the Man, we find Nothing considerable to charge him with."¹

The Sentence of the Court was, that Hall "should be bound Body and Goods for his Wife's Appearance at the next Sessions, and so on from Sessions to Sessions, as long as they stay in this Government. In the mean While to be of good Behaviour." Under these Bonds they continued until the 21st of August, 1668, at which Time "they were living upon the Great Miniford's Island." And we do not find that they were compelled to pay the Costs, as was often the Case with Parties acquitted elsewhere.

In March of this Year a Woman named Elizabeth Seger was tried for Witchcraft at Hartford, and found Guilty by a Jury. But the Court was not convinced of the Truth of the Charge, or of the Sagacity of the Jury, and the Woman was set at Liberty.² Whether she was mulct in Costs,

¹ Yates, *Appendix to Smith's History of New York*, IV, 133. *Hist. N. York*, 509-11. Spafford's

Gazetteer of N. York, 61-2. Edition 1824. See a more accurate Account in the *Documentary Hist.*

² Judd, *Hist. Hadley*, 233. Mr. Judd has given us one of the very best Local Histories.

as was frequently the Case in similar Acquittals, is not known.

1669.

The Prosecution of Susannah Martin, of Salisbury, for Witchcraft, in 1669, very likely was prompted on the Part of certain Persons by Malice. She was subsequently, and no Doubt previously, engaged in Litigations. These before 1669, it is assumed, were the Cause of this Prosecution. Several Persons who gave Evidence adverse to her Claims in some civil Actions, appeared as swift Witnesses at her final and fatal Trial afterwards, as will be seen by consulting the *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

In 1672 she had the Liberty of the General Court to review her former Action, "and sue at Salisbury Court, sub forma Pauperis." The next Year the following Record is made under the same Authority: "In Answer to the Petition of Susanna Martyn, humbly desiring the Favour of this Court to grant her further Liberty, and that her Sister Jones may be joined with her, further to prosecute and trye hir Accion in the next County Court in Norfolk, the Court grants hir Petition, and that hir Sister Jones be joyned with hir in the Prosecution and Trjall of Action, as hath binn formerly granted by this Court."

The following Year (1674) the General Court Records recite: "In Answer to the Petition of George and Susanna Martyn and Mary Jones, the Court judgeth it meet to grant the Petitioners a

Hearing of the whole Case the next Session of this Court, the said Peticoners giving Notice to all Partjes concerned." At the next Court Judgment was given against the Plaintiffs, with Costs, and "five Pounds for hearing the Case, which last was remitted on the importunat Peticons of said Susanna Martyn." Nathaniel Winslow was the Defendant.

The Fate of Susanna Martin in the memorable Year 1692, is specially dwelt upon in the Work before mentioned, and will be found noticed when we come to that Year.

1670.

Some Time previous to the May Term of the General Court of Connecticut, Katharine Harrison, of Wethersfield, was arrested, charged with the Crime of Witchcraft, and imprisoned.¹ How long she suffered Imprisonment we have not the Means of stating. She had been convicted by a Jury, at the May Term of the Court of Assistants. A special Court was assigned for her Trial, with other Prisoners, charged with other Offences. What we find on Record respecting her runs thus: The Special Court "having considered the Verdict of the Jury respecting Kathern Harrison, cannot concur with them so as to sentence her to Death, or to a longer Continuance in Restraynt." The Court thereupon ordered her to

¹ According to Judd, she was tried by a Jury at Hartford the previous October (1669).—*History of Hadley*, 233.

be set at Liberty; but with the monstrous Proviso that she should pay the Costs of her Imprisonment! Also "willing her to minde the Fullfilment of remoueing from Weathersfield, which is that will tend most to her owne Safety and the Contentment of the People who are her Neighbours."¹

From these scanty Facts it may be conjectured without great Hazard, that Mrs. Harrison may have been a troublesome Neighbour, but how the Court justified itself for such Decision a modern Jurist might find it difficult to determine. As Mrs. Harrison was obliged to leave Weathersfield, she proceeded to Westchester in New York, and there probably hoped to remain Quiet, but her evil Genius followed her, and she was prosecuted there the same Year, and bound over to good Behaviour. But at the Court in October following (1670), it was ordered, "that in Regard there is no Thing appears against Katharine Harryson, Widow, deserving the Continuance of that Obligation, she is to be released from it, and hath Liberty to remain in the Towne of Westchester, where she now resides, or Anywhere else in the Government, during her Pleasure."²

The persecuted Woman had a Family of Children, but how many is not mentioned. There were several Petitions sent to the Governour requesting that she should be sent out of Westchester, and the Complaints against her seem to

¹ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, II, 132.

² Yates, *Appendix to Smith's Hist. New York*, 511.

have been very general. She was given an Asylum in the House of one Captain Richard Panton,¹ a Name of rare Occurrence in our Annals; but once occurring, and then in Connection of a most tragic Event.²

1671.

We come now to the Case of Elizabeth Knap,³ a Maid, of Groton, "who, in the Month of October, 1671, was after a very strange Manner, sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, sometimes roaring hideously, with violent Motions and Agitations of her Body, crying out, Money! Money! &c. In November following, her Tongue for many Hours together was drawn like a Semicircle up to the Roof of her Mouth, not to be removed, though Some tried with their Fingers to do it. Six Men were scarce able to hold her in Some of her Fits, but she would skip about the House, yelling, and looking with a most frightful Aspect. On December 17th her Tongue was drawn out of her Mouth to an ex-

¹ *Documentary History of New York*, IV, 136-8.

² See *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 765-6.

³ The Account of this Person's "Strange Case" is taken from one of extensive Detail by the Rev. Samuel Willard, who in the Time of it lived at Groton. It occupies fifteen closely printed octavo Pages,

and is in the Form of a Diary. Towards the Close he says: "Shee freely acknowledged that the Devill was wont to appear to her in the House of God and divert her Mind and charge her shee should not give Ear to what that black coated Rogue spake. Whether shee have covenanted with the Devill or not, I thinke this is a Case unanswerable:" *i. e.*, in this Case he believed she had. *Colls. Ms. H. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 570.

traordinary Length. And now a Dæmon began manifestly to speak in her, in a Voice not her own, and without any Motion of her Lips, and without the Use of any of the Organs of Speech. The Things then uttered by the Devil were chiefly Railings against the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard, then the Minister of Groton. Also the Dæmon belched forth most horrid Blasphemies, exalting himself above the Most High. After this she was taken Speechless for some Time. In some of her Fits she accused one of her Neighbours of being the Cause of her Afflictions." But it so happened that the Person thus cried out upon "was a very sincere holy Woman," who on hearing that she was accused, went to see the "poor Wretch." She found her in one of her Fits, and though with her Eyes fast closed, "declared who was there, and could tell the Touch of that Woman from any One else. But the Party thus accused and abused by a malicious Devil, prayed earnestly with and for the possessed Person; after which she confessed that Satan had deluded her, making her believe Evil of her good Neighbour, without any Cause. Nor did she after that complain of any Apparition, yea, she said, that the Devil had himself in the Likeness and Shape of Divers, tormented her very Diversly and cruelly, and then told her it was not He but They that were her Tormentors."¹

This Story has been given to show how, in

¹ I. Mather, D. D., *Remarkable Providences, and Magnalia*, B. VI, 67.

those Times, a tolerably severe Case of Hysterics¹ could be magnified by those who had an exceedingly large Maggot of Credulity in their Brains. Groton is only thirty-three Miles from Boston, but the Story, in travelling even that short Distance, had no Doubt swollen into such Proportions, as to have but a faint Likeness to the Original.

The Condition of Elizabeth Knap was probably very similar to that of Elizabeth Barton (the Holy Maid of Kent), who, for her Pretensions to Inspiration, "Convulsions and strange Motions of Body," was put to Death in the Time of Henry the Eighth, 1584.

1672.

A Case of Witchcraft is reported to have occurred in Westchester County, New York, in 1672. A Complaint was preferred "to the Governour and Council against a Witch which had come among them." This has Reference, without Question, to Katharine Harrison, whose Prosecution has been detailed under the Year 1670.

1673.

The Case of Katharine Harrison is supposed to have been revived again this Year; and the Complaint against her happened to be presented just after the Dutch had repossessed themselves of

¹ Hutchinson calls her "another *Ventriloqua*."—*Hist. of Mass.*, II, 17.

New Amsterdam. At the Time of the Complaint Captain Anthony Colve, who was in Command of one of the Dutch Men of War at the Capture of the Fort, seems to have had the Government in his Hands, as the Complaint was presented to him for Action. He treated it with Contempt, and thus the Affair ended.

1674.

Mrs. Mary Bartlett, Wife of Mr. Samuel Bartlett, of Northampton, having died in July of this Year, and as her Complaint was not understood by such "Chirurgeons" as the Neighbourhood afforded, a ready Solution of the Case was found by attributing it to Witchcraft. The next Step was to fix upon the Witch; and strange to say, in this Instance, one of the most, if not the most accomplished, and of the highest Standing in the Place, was fixed upon. This was Mrs. Mary Parsons, whose Husband, Mr. Joseph Parsons, was one of the wealthiest Men in Northampton.¹

It is conjectured that the Standing of Mrs. Parsons had much to do with the Accusation. She may have been somewhat Exclusive in the Choice of her Associates, and even of haughty Manners towards the Parties by whom she was singled out for Persecution; but as to this Nothing is positively known.

On the 29th of September, about two Months

¹ As these were the maternal Ancestors of the Writer, he has been as Particular in detailing the Facts as the Documents warrant.

after the Death of Mrs. Bartlett, a Court met at Springfield. Mr. Bartlett in the Meantime had bestirred himself to procure Evidence to sustain his Charge of Witchcraft against Mrs. Parsons, in the Shape of Depositions. This Lady knowing what was going on, did not wait to be summoned, but appeared before the Court in Person. The Substance of her Speech was, that "she did assert her own Innocency, often mentioning how clear she was of such a Crime, and that the righteous God knew her Innocency, and she left her Cause in his Hand." But her Protestations and Disclamations of all Knowledge of Witchcraft had little or no Effect upon the Court of Springfield, and that Court at once proceeded to do all which lay in its Jurisdiction. It "appointed a Jury of soberdized, chaste Women to make diligent Search upon the Body of Mary Parsons, whether any Marks of Witchcraft appear, who gave in their Account to the Court on Oath, of what they found." Whether they found Anything extraordinary in their Search is not known, although it is said, that the Report which they made, together with the Evidence, was forwarded to the Governour and Magistrates at Boston. The Accused was also ordered to appear before them, and was bound over for her further Appearance, in the Sum of fifty Pounds, her Husband becoming bound in that Sum.

On the 2d of March, 1675, she was indicted by the Grand Jury, and sent to Prison to await Trial. On the 13th of May following she was

tried, on the Charge of Witchcraft, "in that she had, not having the Fear of God before her Eyes, entered into Familiarity with the Devil, and committed sundry Acts of Witchcraft on the Person or Persons of one or more." She of Course pleaded "not Guilty," and she was cleared by the Jury.¹

It may be worthy of Notice that at this Time the Hon. John Leverett was Governour, and Generals Gookin and Denison were Assistants. These were three of the most enlightened Men of the Time, and they doubtless exerted a benign Influence on the Jury. Hence Witch Finders were discouraged, and the Country was relieved for a Time. An Attempt was however made against John Parsons, Son of Joseph and Mary Parsons, and a Quantity of Evidence was made up to prove his "Familiarity with the Devil," but the County Court did not think the Evidence strong enough, or they had not Faith enough in the Weakness of the Governour and his Assistants to send the Accused down to Boston, and thus the Case was abandoned.

1675.

The Practice of Witchcraft among the Indians gave the English a good deal of Trouble. Perhaps it did not occur to them that it was a Child of Barbarism, and that in Proportion to the Prevalence of Knowledge it would disappear. But

¹ Chiefly from Facts found in Judd's *History of Hadley*.

when Mankind at any given Period take a retrospective View, they have assumed that all Men previous to their own Age and Country were wallowing in an Ignorance far greater than that by which they were beset. Hence, in the Year 1675, among other Laws for the Government of the Pequot Indians, this was enacted by the General Court of Connecticut: "Whosoever shall Powau or vse Witchcraft, or any Worship of the Devill, or any fals Gods, shall be convicted and punished."

1676.

Notwithstanding her stringent Laws against Witchcraft, the Old Colony of Plymouth never found itself obliged to execute any one for that Crime, as is believed. And for about sixteen Years no Case of the Kind, so far as known, was ever carried into Court. But, in the Midst of the terrible War with King Philip, namely, in March, 1676, one Mary Ingham, Wife of Thomas Ingham, of Scituate, was indicted and arraigned before the Court. The Indictment runs thus: "Mary Ingham: thou art indited by the Name of Mary Ingham, of the Towne of Scittuate, in the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth, for that thou, haueing not the Feare of God before thyne Eyes, hast, by the Healp of the Deuill, in the Way of Witchcraft or Sorcery, malliciously procured much Hurt, Mischeiffe, and Paine vnto the Body of Mehittable Woodworth, the Daughter of Walter

Woodworth, of Scittuate aforesaid and some Others, and particularly causing her, the said Me-hittable, to fall into violent Fitts and causing great Paine vnto feuerall Parts of her Body att feuerall Times, soe as shee, the said Mehittable Woodworth, hath bin almost bereaued of her Sences, and hath greatly languished, to her much Suffering therby, and the Procuring of great Greiffe, Sorrow, and Charge to her Parents; all which thou hast procured and don against the Law of God, and to his great Dishonor, and Contrary to our Soueraign Lord the King, his Crowne and Dignitie."

After all this high sounding Manifesto, some Show of a Trial might reasonably be expected, and at least the Names of Witnesses given; but there appears Nothing of the Kind on Record. The Records, however, do say: "The said Mary Ingham did putt herselfe on the Tryall of God and the Countrey," and was cleared of this "Inditement in Proceffe of Law by a Jury of twelue Men."

It would be exceedingly Interesting to know what the Evidence was against the Accused; for without it we cannot give the Court credit either for Sagacity or Lenity. But in the State of Society of that Time, we may reasonably conclude that the Evidence must have been lame indeed, or the Party would not have escaped Conviction. Josiah Winslow was Governour of the Colony, and the Jury that tried Mary Ingham consisted of Mr. Thomas Haskins, John Wadsworth, John

Howland, Abraham Jackson, Benajah Pratt, John Blacke, Marke Snow, Joseph Bartlett, John Richmond, Jerud Talbutt, John Foster, and Seth Pope.

This Trial took place during the darkest Days of a War, which, of itself was enough, as since viewed, to have diverted the Mind of every Inhabitant from all Subjects excepting what might tend to the Preservation of the Country. But Superstition and Fanaticism cling to the uncultivated Mind, even to the Jaws of Death.

To urge at this Day, the Claim for the People of Plymouth, that it was owing to their "good Sense," or superior Wisdom, that None were put to Death for Witchcraft, is very Preposterous. The simple Reason that no Executions took place in some of the New England Colonies is, the Evidence brought forward was not so strong as was produced in those Colonies where Executions followed Convictions; not that the Authorities were less disposed to such Prosecutions.

1678.

Thomas Mayhew, of Martha's Vineyard, wrote to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, apparently in Answer to Questions relating to the Condition of the Indians of that Island, that there were about one hundred and forty Men there which were "not tainted with

¹ His Letter may be seen in the *nealogical Register*, Vol. IV, 17. *New England Historical and Ge-*

Drunkennesse," and that as to Witchcraft, that was out of Use among them. Hence, if this Statement was correct, the Indians of that Locality were much in Advance of their white Neighbours.

1679.

In Northampton the Powers of Darkness were again "visible" in 1679. On the 7th of March of this Year died one John Stebbins in an unusual Manner, as was alleged by a Jury of Inquest, consisting of twelve Men, among whom was Dr. Thomas Hastings of Hatfield. The Jury found "several hundred small Spots on the Body, as if made with small Shot. Those Spots were scraped, and Holes found under them into the Body." Whereupon it was suspected that it was done by Witchcraft. The Wife of the Deceased was a Sister to Samuel Bartlett. This Individual, although he had failed to convict Mrs. Parsons, as before detailed, probably hoped now to have better Success. The County Court, as appears by its Acts, had more Faith in this Accusation than in that of the Case of John Parsons, for they received the Evidence and transmitted it to Governor Bradstreet, but the Governor did not take Notice enough of the Accusation to send for the Party, and thus the Matter went by.

Tradition in Hadley says, that John Stebbins was at Work in a Saw-mill a little Time before his Death; that the Logs and Boards became bewitched and cut up strange and divers Capers,

and that in some of their diabolical Manceuvres they interfered with John, but in what Manner is not stated, though they were supposed to have caused his Death.

Simple, unsuspecting, and honest People have often been the Victims to those who practise malicious Mischief, as well as to those who practise different Kinds of Rascality. There were living at this Time in Newbury several Families of the Name of Morfe; the oldest or principal Family was that of William Morfe. He had lived in that Town since 1635, having emigrated from Marlborough, in Wiltshire, in the early Part of that Year, and was by Occupation a Shoemaker. He had a Wife Elizabeth whom he probably married after he came to New England.¹ In this Family lived a Boy named John Stiles, a Grandson of William Morfe. What was the Age of this Boy, or what instigated him to undertake the tormenting of his Grand-parents, there is no Mention as yet discovered. Perhaps he intended no more at First than to frighten them by some deceptive boyish Pranks, and succeeding fully in that, proceeded till his Pranks became Outrages, by which he deceived nearly Everybody.

It was a Period when, if Anything occurred, the Origin or Reason for which was not understood or comprehended, and appeared stranger than usual, the Mind, instead of investigating,

¹ *Founders of New England*, Page 56.

fell back upon the ever ready and easy Solution, that such was caused by Witchcraft.

How long the young Scamp carried on his Annoyances before any Complaint was made to the Authorities, does not appear, but it was for some Time previous to December of this Year (1679), as one Caleb Powell had become acquainted with what was going on, and offered his Services to put a Stop to the mysterious Fall of Brick-bats down the Chimney, Pots and Kettles dancing on the Crane, and Irons jumping in and out of the Kettles, and such like extraordinary Manœuvres. Powell, it seems, was a seafaring Man, and it is supposed, that in Order to give himself large Importance in the Eyes of the People of Newbury, he pretended to a Knowledge in the occult Sciences, and that by Means of this Knowledge he could detect the Witchcraft then going on at Mr. Morfe's. However this may have been, Powell said that if he had the Boy in his Custody he could put a Stop to the Trouble; and to test the Truth of what he said, Consent was given, though reluctantly, and he took away the Boy, and the Witch Operations did actually cease. Whether he had Connivance with the Boy Stiles, or failed to accomplish some private End he may have had in View, is not known, but the Tragedy of the dancing of Pots and Kettles, bowing of Chairs, &c., was resumed with more Vigour than ever. Whereupon it was assumed that the said Powell was himself the Witch, was prosecuted and in much Danger of

suffering for the Part he had volunteered to take. Morfe was his Prosecutor. By what Means he became so is not known, and was bound to appear at the Court in Ipswich to make good his Charges against Powell. There are some scraps of Testimony in Coffin's *History of Newbury*,¹ and the Decision of the Court, which, being very extraordinary, is here reproduced: "Upon hearing the Complaint against Caleb Powell for Suspicion of working by the Devill, to the molesting of the Family of William Morfe of Newbury, though this Court cannot find any evident Ground of proceeding farther against the said Powell, yett we determine that he hath given such Ground of Suspicion of his so dealing, that we cannot so acquit him, but that he justly deserves to beare his owne Shame and the Costs of Prosecution of the Complaint."

This only adds another to the ridiculous Decisions of the early Courts to those already noticed. The Judges had put the County to the Expense of a Trial, of which they must pay their Proportion, unless it could be saddled on Somebody, and there was Nobody but the Persecuted Party on whom it could be laid with Impunity.

The Testimony given in by Mr. Morfe, before Suspicion lighted on Powell, is as astonishing as any of the Details of Witch Transactions given by Cotton Mather. So extraordinary is his Tes-

¹ The Reader should bear in Mind that the Testimony in that Work is separated and misplaced, but all between Pages 122 and 135.

timony, that one, on reading it, cannot escape the Conclusion that some strange Composition must have occupied the Place in his Head designed for Brains.

It appears that about the Time Powell was fixed upon as the one "working by the Devill," it began to be whispered about that Mrs. Morfe was the Witch; and no sooner was Powell acquitted than the Clamour against her began openly to be made, and on the 7th of January following Commissioner Woodbridge commenced taking Evidence in the Case, all of which will be found in the Appendix. It has, as will be seen by a Perusal, the usual Character of such Testimony, altogether too childish to be worthy of Preservation, did it not show the Character of the People of the Age, and how much Improvement has been since made in all that is essential to the Happiness of a People.

A great many Witnesses were summoned to appear at the May Session of the Court in Boston; many did appear in Person, some walking on Foot the whole Distance. The poor Accused (then about 65 Years of Age) was taken from Ipswich Jail, where she had been for some Time kept, and on the 20th of May conveyed to Boston, by the Constable; Thomas Knowlton, who questioned her on the Way about her Case. She said, among other Things, "she was accused about Witchcraft, but that she was as clear of it as God in Heaven."

Fortunately perhaps for the Accused, Simon

Bradstreet was rechosen Governor; among the other Officers composing the General Court were Thomas Danforth, Deputy Governor, Richard Saltonstall, Daniel Gookin, Daniel Denison, John Pynchon, Edward Tyng, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, Nath^l Saltonstall, Humphrey Davy, James Russell, Samuel Nowell, Peter Tilton, John Richards, John Hull, Bartholomew Gedney, Tho. Savage, Wm. Browne.

The Trial was before the Assistants, but no Record of it appears in the Journals, but fortunately there is found a List of the Jury.¹ A Copy of the Indictment is printed in Coffin's *Newbury*, and is in the usual Form—"instigated by and Familiarity with the Devil." Argument on the Part of the Prisoner there was none, and the Jury brought her in "guilty, according to the Indictment." Whereupon the Governour could do no less than pronounce Judgment, which was performed on the 27th of May, after the Lecture. She was to be "hanged by the Neck till she was dead."

Whether a Question of Law came up from some Quarter, or whether the Governour or some of the Assistants had Doubts in the Matter, does not appear; but in the Course of the Trial the

¹ Derived from the Documents in the Appendix. They were Mr. Nathan Heyman, and Mr. John Knight, of Charlestown; Mr. Richard Middlecott, Mr. Jeremiah Cushman, Mr. John Wait, Lt. Richard Waye, and Mr. Thomas Harwood, of Boston; John Stone, and Richard Child, of Watertown; Bro. John Green, and Richard Robins, of Cambridge; Jacob Huen, and John Capen, of Dorchester. The Spelling of these Names is given as in the Originals.

following Question was before the Court: "Whether severall distinct single testimonyes of preternaturall and Diabolicall Actions by the prisoner at the barr, though not any two concurring to proue the same indiuiduall Act is to be accounted Legall evidence to Convict of Witchcraft. This was Resolued on the affirmative by y^e Court. 22 of May, 1680, as Attests EDWARD RAWSON, Secret."¹

There seems to have been no Dissent on the Part of any one, and why the Time for the Execution was not fixed, must for the Present, at least, remain unexplained. It has been assumed by Coffin and later Writers, that the Life of Mrs. Morfe was spared through the Backwardness of Governour Bradstreet to proceed in carrying out his own Sentence. It may have been so, but Evidence is wanting to fully warrant the Surmise. If he had any Scruples why did he so promptly pronounce the Sentence of Death? However this might have been, before the Adjournment of the Court, namely, on June 1st, but three Days after Sentence was passed, "the Governour and Magistrates voted the reprieving" of Mrs. Morfe till the October Session of the Court. But Nothing is heard of the Case in October. On the 3^d of November, however, the Deputies sent up an Inquiry, desiring to know "why Execution of the Sentence" had not been carried into Effect? It is evident that no incon-

¹ All in the Autograph of the Secretary, as well as Orthography and Capitalization. So in all other Extracts.

considerable Movement had been Somewhere made (though but its Shadow is visible) to stay Proceedings, for the Deputies clamoured against a "second Repreeval," as beyond what the Law will allow. Still the Magistrates held out and would not give their Consent to have the Prisoner executed. And, bad as Circumstances appeared against her, some Humanity was maintained by a Portion of the Officials. It would seem like the last Stages of Depravity, had not Documents like the following had some Effect upon them:

"To the Hon^{ble} Gov^r and Council now sitting in Boston, June 4th, 1680. The Petition of William Mofs. Humbly sheweth, That whereas his deare Wife was by the Jury found Guilty of Witchcraft, and by the hon^{ble} Court Condemned to dye: Yet since God hath beene pleased to move yo^r Honors Harts, to grant her a Reprieve until October next, yo^r Petiti^or humbly prayes that yo^r Honor^s be pleased to shew her so much Pitty as to grant her Liberty, in the Day Time to walke in the Prison Yard, and to y^e Prison House, and that in the Night Shee may have Priviledge of a Chamber in the Common Goale, and be freed from the Dungeon w^{ch} is Extreame Close and hott in this Season, and also Liberty on the Sabbath to goe to Meeting; he and his Children giveing Security for her safe Imprisonment. So shall he be ever Obliged to pray as in Duty bound. WM. MOOSSE."

How far this Petition was listened to is not known; nor is it known how it happened to be

in the Hand Writing of Isaac Addington (excepting the Signature), a Circumstance which may reasonably lead the Reader to infer that that worthy Man rendered what Service he could in Favour of the Prisoner.

We meet with Nothing farther in the Records relative to the Case of Mrs. Morfe till the next Year, when by another Petition from her Husband, dated on the 14th of May (1681) it appears she was still in Prison in Boston. The Petition here mentioned is elaborately drawn up, and is an Argument to explain away the Evidence of certain Persons who had testified against his Wife. But Arguments were of small Avail when it was contended that the Devil might have instigated them. The Petition may be seen entire in the *History of Newbury*, and applies to the Testimonies given in our Appendix.¹

On the 18th of the same Month Mr. Morfe again Petitioned the Governour and Magistrates "in Behalf of his Wife," begging them "to hearken to the Cry of your poor Prisoner, who am a condemned Person," having "pleaded not guilty, and by the Mercy of God and the Goodness of the honored Governor, I am reprieved and brought to this honored Court, praying your Justis. I do not understand Law, and know not how to present my Case, but humbly beg that my Request may not be rejected, it being no

¹ These were unknown to the excellent Historian of Newbury.

more but your Sentence upon my Trial whether I shall live or dy."

Six Days later the Deputies had so far overcome their Desire to have the Prisoner executed, that they voted to grant her a new Trial, but the Magistrates would not consent to it; and it seems that after her second Reprieve, her Family was allowed to take her Home, and although she was never relieved from the Sentence of the Court, it does not appear that she was further molested, and finally closed her Life at Home and in Peace, but at what time is not ascertained. The Husband survived the harassing period of his Wife's Persecutions, about two Years, dying November 29th, 1683, aged 69, according to Coffin, but according to the more recent Investigations of a Genealogist,¹ he was 76; the latter Account seeming more Probable.

A View of the old House in which the Morse Family lived, is given in the *History of Newbury*. The Time of Erection has not been found, though the Lot on which it was built was granted to William Morse in 1645. A Part, if not the whole House, was built soon after the Lot was granted. It stands at the Corner of Market Street, opposite St. Paul's Church.²

That Miss Gould had this old House in her Mind, and the Traditions of the Days when Mrs. Morse was reputed a Witch, when she wrote the

¹ The Rev. Abner Morse, in his *Memorial of the Morfes*, Boston, 1850. 8 vo. ² See Coffin, 134.

following Lines, will scarcely be doubted.¹ She thus represents her Visit to a Fortune-teller:

“When I came near the Hut I began to relent,
And how, though I’d run, till my Breath was nigh spent!
For Nightshade and Hemlock grew under the Eaves,
And seemed to have ‘Sorcery’ writ on their leaves.
When the feathery Group gave their ominous shout,
I thought of the Chicks Mother Carey sent out!
Then there lay old Growler at Length on the Floor,
And looked like the Wicked One keeping the Door;
With Eyes semi-closed, as inclining to Sleep,
But ope’d now and then for an impious Peep;
And even the Puff, as she dozed on the Hearth,
I thought had a Spice of the Witch from her Birth.”

1680.

While Witchcraft was flourishing in Newbury, a most exciting Case of it broke forth in Hampton, in 1680. Rachel, the Wife of John Fuller, of that Town, was charged with causing the Death of a Child by the Practice of Sorcery. A Jury of twelve Men was impaneled to investigate the Charge, and the Result as recorded is briefly as follows:

The Jurors say, “being called by Authority to view a dead Child of John Godfres, being about a Year old, which was suspected to be murdered, we find Grounds of Suspicion that the said Child was murdered by Witchcraft: first, in Part by what we saw by the dead Corpse; second, Something we perceived by the Party suspected, which

¹ Madam Hooper was nearly her Lines may have Reference to Cotemporary with Miss Gould, and her, as more applicable.

was then present, and was examined by Authority; and third, by what was said by the Witnesses."

The Names of the Jury were: "Henry Roby, *forman*; Tho. Marston, Willyam Marston, Abraham Drake, Abraham Perkins, Anthony Taylor, John Smith, Tho. Levet, Aratus Levet, Gershom Elkins, Henry Derbond, and John Sanborne.

"This true List was given in upon Oath, the 13th of July, 1680, before me,

"SAMUEL DALTON, *of the Council*."

The next Day John Fuller, the Husband of the Accused, entered into Bonds of £100, for her Appearance "to answer to what shall be charged against her in Point of Witchcraft," when called for. The Cognizance is thus underwritten: "Owned before me 14 July, 1680.

"CHRISTOPHER LUX,"

"SAMUEL DALTON, *of the Council*."

The same Day Elizabeth Denham and Mary Godfrey deposed, "that we, being in Discourse with Rachel Fuller, she told us how those that were Witches did so go abroad at Night; they

¹ There was a Family of this Name living at Great Island (Newcastle) a little later. "Audrey Lux, of Portsmouth on Great Island, Widow," made her Will 9 June, 1688; mentions Grand Children, John and Elizabeth Cranch, Children of Andrew Cranch, of Great Island; said Children not then 21. If they died before 21, then the Property to go to "Abishag Marshall, my dau., wf. of Tho. Marshall, of Great Island." To Son-in-law, Adrew Cranch, 5 Shillings. To dau. Abishag Marshall, all my Houses, Lands, Wharves and Orchards. Witnesses, Geo. Pearson, Ja^s. Booth, Geo. Payne, Proved, 18 March, 1692-3. Lux is not found in the *N. Eng. Gen. Dist*.

did lay their Husbands and Children asleep; and she said Rachel Fuller told us of several Persons that she reckoned for Witches and Wizzards in this Town, to the number of seven or eight. She said eight Women and two Men; some of whom she expressed by name, as Eunice Cole, Benjamin Evans Wife and her Daughters, Goodwife Coulter and her Daughter Prescott, and Goodwife Towle, and one that is now dead."

"Nathaniel Smith, aged about twenty Years, faith, that going to the House of John Fuller, as he was coming Home with his Herd, the said Fuller's Wife asked him what was the News in the Town? The said Smith said he knew none. She told him that the other Night there was a great Route at Goodman Roby's.¹ This was at the first Time when Dr. Reed was at this Town. She said they had pulled Dr. Reed out of the Bed, and with an enchanted Bridle did intend to lead a Jaunt; and he got her by the Coat, but could not hold her. I asked her who it was? and she turned from me, and as I thought did laugh.² Sworn the 14th of July, 1680, before me,

"SAMUEL DALTION, *of the Council.*"

Mary, the Wife of John Godfrey, and Sarah her Daughter, aged about 16 Years, gave Testimonies too loathsome for Recital. They speak of a Circumstance which took place "the same

¹ This was doubtless Henry Roby, a Justice of the Court of Sessions. He was in the Interest of Cranfield at one Period, and generally in some Kind of Trouble. He was at Exeter as early as 1638. See Belknap, *Hist. N. Hampshire.*

² No doubt she laughed to think he was so easily made a fool of.

Day that Mr. Buff went through the Town, about three Weeks or a Month ago." They attempted some Experiments with the Water of the Child; and "by and by Rachel Fuller came in and looked very strangely; bending, daubed her Face with Molasses, as she judged it, so as she almost daubed up one of her Eyes; and she sat down by Goody Godfrey, who had the sick Child in her Lap, and took the Child by the Heand, and Goodwife Godfrey being afraid to see her come in that Manner, put her Hand off from the Child, and wrapped the Child's Hand in her Apron. Then the said Rachel turned her about, and smote the Back of her Hands together sundry Times, and spat in the fire. Then, having Herbs in her Hands, rubbed and strewed them about the Hearth by the Fire. Then she sat down again, and said, Woman, the Child will be well. She then went behind the House. Mehitable Godfrey then told her Mother that Goody Fuller was acting strangely. Then Mary Godfrey and Sarah, looking out, saw Rachel Fuller standing with her Face towards the House, beating herself with her Arms, as Men do to warm their Hands. This she did three Times. Then gathering Something from the Ground, went Home. Sworn the 14th of July, 1680."

The same Day, Mary Godfrey further declared that upon the next Day after Rachel Fuller had been "at her House with her Face daubed with Molasses, the Children told their Mother that Rachel had told them that if they did lay sweet Bays under the Threshold, it would keep a Witch

from coming in. One of the Girls said, Mother I will try it, and she laid Bays under the Threshold of the back Door, all the Way, and half Way of the Breadth of the fore Door; and soon after Rachel Fuller came to the House, and she always had formerly come in at the back Door, which is next her House; but now she went about to the fore Door, and though the Door stood open, yet she crowded in on that Side where the Bays lay not, and rubbed her Back against the Post, so as that she rubbed off her Hat, and then she sat her down and made ugly Faces, and nestled about, and would have looked on the Child, but I not suffering her, she went out rubbing against the Post of the Door as she came in, and beat off her Hat again; and I never saw her in the House since. Sworn the 14th of July, 1680."

John Godfrey, aged about 48 Years, and his Wife about 36 Years, said that Rachel Fuller came into their House about eight or nine o'Clock in the Day. Their Child was very ill, at which Mrs. Fuller, seeing the Mother much troubled, said that "this would be the worst Day with it. To-morrow it will be well." She then "patted the Child's Hand, and took it in hers; at which the Mother snatched it away and wrapped it in her Apron. Then Mrs. Fuller rose up, and turning her Back to Mr. Godfrey, did smite the back Side of her Hand together, and did spit in the Fire.

"Sworn before SAMUEL DALTION, of the Council, July 14th, 1680, and in the Court at Hampton, Sept. 7th, 1680.

"ELIAS STILEMAN, *Sect.*"

The Deposition of one Hazen Levit closes the Evidence against Rachel Fuller, so far as Discovered, and the Proceedings against her end with that Deposition. If any further Action was had the Account of it has not been met with. It is probable the Matter was dropped, as the Evidence was too silly and puerile for even those benighted Times. Hazen Levit said he was about thirty-six Years of Age. "Riding up to his Lot in July last, Sun about an Hour high, he saw John Fuller's Wife upon her Hands and Knees, scrambling too and fro, first one Way and then another, and seemed to him to be mighty lazy;" but after she espied him she left off that Manner of acting, and seemed to take up her Apron with one of her Hands, and with the other to gather up Something." It seems she had a "little Child with her," and was perhaps gathering up some Chips. While she was thus employed, she may have felt annoyed at Leavit's rude Scrutiny, for, he says, "she gave him a frowning Look at First," and when he went along "she laughed on him." After that he saw "a Thing like a little Dog," which came from the Gate leading to her House and went to her "who was still in the same Actions" of scrambling Something to put in her Apron.

Mrs. Fuller's maiden Name was Rachel Brafbidge. She was married to John Fuller, March 19th, 1677, and had six or more Children. He

¹ It could be wished he had given seems to have been the reverse of his Definition of this Word, as it that as now understood.

died in 1719. His Inventory showing considerable Estate for the Time, about £460.

Isabella Towle was committed at the same Time on the Charge of Witchcraft, but we find Nothing further in Regard to her, or how long she and Mrs. Fuller were imprisoned.

At a somewhat later Day, the People of Hampton gave pretty free Scope to their imaginative Powers; and what one fancied or dreamed, and told to his Neighbour with an ominous Shake of the Head, was by that Neighbour told to another under a full Belief that it was true. Not far back into the last Century there lived in Hampton, New Hampshire, a wealthy Gentleman, widely known as Gen. Jonathan Moulton. He was a Man of great Energy and Enterprize, and having by good Luck, Shrewdness, or both, secured a large Estate in a comparatively brief Period, his ignorant and superstitious Neighbours surmised he had made a League with the Devil, by Virtue of which he received all the Money he wanted. Having met with a Check in his Prosperity, by his House taking Fire and being entirely consumed,¹ the Report was at once spread Far and Wide, that the Fire had been set by the Devil

¹ This was long a memorable Event in the History of Hampton. It occurred about four o'Clock on Wednesday Morning, March 15th, 1769. A large Mansion House and two Stores were entirely consumed. Of some 18 Persons in the House at the Time, all escaped

with their Lives, though with the Loss of most of their Clothes. The Owner escaped with his Cloak only, and a Gentleman was saved only by jumping from a Chamber Window. Colonel Moulton's Loss was estimated at £3000 Sterling.—*Newspapers of the Day.*

because the General had cheated him in a Bargain! No one seemed to know what the Bargain was, but on this or some other Occasion it was averred that he cheated the Devil, not exactly out of his Boots, but out of Boots full of Money. The *Facts* have been thus stated: The Devil was to have the General's Soul, after a certain Number of Years; in Consideration of which, at stated Periods he was to fill the General's Boot with Gold and Silver, the Boot being hung up in the Chimney for that Purpose. Whether a Boot-full at a Time was not sufficient to meet his Demands for Money, is not stated; but on a Time when his Majesty came to fill the Boot, he found it took a Quantity so vast that he descended into the Chimney to see what the Matter was, and to his surprise he found that the General had cut off the Foot of the Boot! and the Room below was so full of Money that he could not proceed to the Door, and was compelled to go back up Chimney again.

When the General died (which was in the Year 1788) and was put into a Coffin, his Body was missing immediately afterward. Whereupon all the *knowing* ones hinted that "the Devil had got his own at last."

There were People within the Remembrance of the Writer who would tell the above, and other equally *credible* Stories respecting the Operations of the Devil "in the Money Market."

1681.

Plymouth Colony had a Visitation of "Devilism" again in the Year 1681. The Transactions about to be related have not been classed hitherto among the Exploits of Witches, yet they clearly belong to them. "One Jonathan Dunen drew away the Wife of a Man to Marshfield, to follow him, and one Mary Ros falling into their Company, presently was possessed with as frantick a Dæmon as ever was heard of; she burnt her Cloathes; she said she was Christ; she gave Names to the Gang with her, as Apostles, calling one Peter, another Thomas; she declared that she would be dead for three Days, and then rise again, and accordingly she seemed then to die. Dunen then gave out that they should see glorious Things when she rose again; but what she then did was thus: Upon her Order Dunen sacrificed a Dog. The Men and the two Women then danced naked together; for which, when the Constable carried them to the Magistrates, Ros uttered stupendous Blasphemies, but Dunen lay for Dead an Hour on the Floor, saying, when he came to himself, that Mary Ros bid him, and he could not resist."

This Dunen, it appears, was a Disciple of Thomas Case, who had "bewitched" certain Quakers, detached them from that Sect, and were known as Case's Crew. These were established at Southold on Long Island. From this Company Dunen found his Way into the Old Colony

and commenced working Miracles, but his Career was cut short in the Manner just described.¹

1682.

Had there been a Chronicler in all of the New England Towns in the early Times of New England, and he had diligently recorded all of the Mischief that was laid to the Charge of the Devil, "the World would hardly have contained the Books," unless the People had been aided by the same Jugglery that caused them.

There were no less than "three Houses in three several Towns," in a usually quiet Part of New England, beset this Year by Evil Spirits. But the diabolical Manœuvres at only one of the Houses are preserved, so far as is known to the Writer, the Preamble to which runs thus: "A brief Narrative of sundry Apparitions of Satan unto, and Assaults at sundry Times and Places upon, the Person of Mary, the Wife of Antonio Hortado, dwelling near the Salmon Falls. Taken from her own Mouth, August 13th, 1683."

Satan began his Game in the Month of June, 1682, by a Visit to the Door of Antonio's House, and hooting out the Question to his Wife, "What do you here?" About an Hour later, as Mary was standing in the Door, she received a Pelt on her Eye "that settled her Head near to the Door Post." Two or three Days later, a Stone of

¹ From a Work signed "*Anti-Enthusiasticus*," printed in Boston, in 1742, small 8vo., p. 84-86. Said to be by Dr. C. Chauncy.

about an half a Pound's Weight was thrown "along the House within into the Chimney; and going to take it up it was gone. All the Family was in the House, and no Hand appearing which might be instrumental in throwing the Stone." Soon after, a Frying-pan, then hanging in the Chimney, was heard to ring so loud that it was heard away across the River, a Distance of a hundred Rods or more. Upon this Mary and her Husband embarked in a Canoe and crossed over the said River; and as they went they saw just forward of them in the River, a Man's Head shaven, and two or three Feet behind it, the Tail of a white Cat, but they could see no Body by which the Head and Tail were connected. After an Hour or so they returned, and this Time the marvelous bald head and white Tail followed the Canoe, but when it reached the Shore they vanished and were seen no more.

Whether before or after the Voyage just mentioned, is not stated, nor is it material, "Mary, being in the Yard by her House, in attempting to go into the House, was bitten on both Arms black and blue; the Impressions of the Teeth being like Men's Teeth were plainly seen by many."

Here was a Case similar to that of Hudibras, when Ralpho counterfeited the Ghost:

"I do believe thee quoth the Knight;
Thus far I'm sure thou'rt in the Right,
And know what 'tis that troubles thee,
Better than thou hast guessed of me.

Thou art some paltry, blackguard Sprite,
Condemned to Drudgery in the Night;
Thou hast no Work to do in th' House,
Nor Half-penny to drop in Shoes;
Without the receiving of which Sum
You dare not be so troublesome;
To pinch the Slatterns black and blue,
For leaving you their Work to do."

Mary was not only bitten but scratched on her Breast, when the Devil caught her making for the House as just related. So she and her Husband concluded to abandon their Dwelling. They did so, and crossed the River, and sojourned for a Time with a Neighbour. They had not been long there before a Woman appeared to Mary, "clothed with a green Safeguard, a short blue Cloak and white Cap," brandishing a Fire-brand, as though she intended to strike her with it, but did not do so. The next Day the Shape came again. Now she had on a gray Gown, white Apron, and a white Head Dress. She laughed several Times, but no one heard any Voice. This we are told was the End of Mary's "fatanical Molestations." Not so with Antonio; for on returning to his House the following March, he heard the Noise of a Man walking in the Chamber over his Head, and saw the Boards "buckle" under his Feet; yet no one could be seen there, "for they went on Purpose to look." So they went again to reside on the other Side of the River, but Antonio carried on his Planting as usual, notwithstanding the Devil made Spoil upon him in divers Ways. One Time he pulled down

"five Rods of good Log-fence," and the Tracks of Cattle were seen between nearly every Row of Corn, yet the Corn was untouched, not even the Leaves crompt. Hence the Conclusion may not be unreasonable, that the Devil was not fond of Corn.

The Narrator said he was further informed, that Mary, by Advice of some, "who should have been wiser," stuck her House round with Bayes to keep off the Evil Spirits, and that they had the desired Effect; but as soon as these began to wither, they were all carried away by an unseen Hand, and her Troubles returned as before.

The People of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, were again disturbed in 1682. So far as any Record is found to the Contrary, they had had no serious Annoyance from the Invisible World for about a Quarter of a Century. But "on June 11th, being the Lord's Day, at Night, Showers of Stones were thrown both against the Sides and Roof of the House of George Walton; some of the People went abroad, and found the Gate at some Distance from the House, wrung off the Hinges, and Stones came thick about them;" and although they seemed to come with great Force, hitting Persons, yet they hurt no one. The Object which the Witches had in this Management of the Stones seemed to puzzle People. But Matters soon grew more serious. Stones began to fly about the Rooms within Doors; the Glass in the Windows was shattered to Pieces, and the leaden Sashes were bent outward,

the Stones being thrown from within. "While the Secretary was walking in the Room, a great Hammer came brushing along against the Chamber Floor that was over his Head, and fell down by him, and a Candlestick was beaten off the Table." Nine of the Stones were gathered up and Marks put upon them, some of which were as hot as if they came out of the Fire; and being laid upon the Table, were soon found to be flying about again. Thus for four Hours the Miscreants kept up the Shower of Stones that Night. The Secretary was not so frightened but that he went to Bed, but a Stone came and smashed through his Chamber Door. Then came a Brick-bat "on the like Errand." And notwithstanding Mr. Walton shut the Stone up in his Room and locked it in, it rushed out "with a great Noise into the next Chamber." The Spit ran or flew up Chimney, and when it came down it came Point first, like a Dart, and stuck in the back Log. Immediately after it was sent out of the Window by an unseen Hand. "This Trade was driven" several Days, but with some Intermissions. It was remarked that the Stones came thickest where the Master of the House was. On one Occasion a black Cat was seen while the Stones were falling, and was shot at; but the unseen Hand that could prevent the Stones from hurting People, could prevent Bullets from Hurting Pufs, and she escaped unharmed. On another Time some of the Family "saw the Appearance of a Hand put forth at the Hall Window, throwing

Stones towards the Entry," yet there was Nobody in the Hall at the Time. Dismal Howlings were sometimes heard, and the Trotting and Snorting of Horses, but nothing could be seen. Mr. Walton went up the Great Bay in his Boat for Timber, but Stones followed him. He carried a Stirrup-iron to his Boat and left it there, but when he left it to return to the House, it "came jingling after him through the Woods." His Anchor leaped overboard without Hands and stopped the Boat as he was endeavouring to return Home.¹ When he had mown some Grass and left it in Cocks, on going into the Field again the Cocks of Hay were found hanging on Trees.

These are only a few of the many Pranks which a Demon played off on Secretary Walton. He was "forely hurt" in some of them. The Account was written in August of this Year (1682), at which Time it was reported that "during the last Winter" the Devil was tolerably quiet, but on the Return of Spring he paid Mr. Walton a Visit, not in Person probably, and managed to carry off his Axes, notwithstanding they were under Lock and Key at the Time. What old Clovenfoot wanted of Axes no Conjecture was made.²

¹ There is a Creek some Mile and a half from the former "State House," in Portsmouth, known as late as 1769, as Witch Creek. Whether it took its Name from the Incidents of Walton's Voyage, I am unable to say; but in the Belief of those Days, the Devil or his

Deputies caused the Death of two Cows at that Creek eighty-two Years after that Voyage, by Lightning.

² Since the Text was written my Attention has been called by a literary Friend to a new Volume of

No Reasons are suggested why Mr. Walton was singled out to be tormented. He was a respectable Gentleman for Anything that is known to the Contrary. His Son Shadrach was a Man of Distinction, and served as a Colonel in the Indian Wars; at one Period with the redoubtable Col. Benjamin Church.¹ He was a Quaker, and it was said that he suspected a certain Woman did by Witchcraft occasion the above preternatural Occurrences.²

1683.

Almost a Case of Witchcraft happened in Southampton, on Long Island, "about 1683." One Thomas Travally entered a Complaint against Edward Lacy, in that the said Lacy charged his, the said Travally's Wife with being a Witch; and that he himself had been hagg-ridden three Nights by her.³ The Action appears to have been withdrawn, and the Bill of Costs was ordered to be paid by the Defendant. Hence it would seem that Mrs. Travally was a Witch to the amount of three Shillings and six Pence, that being the Amount of Costs.

Historical Collections, in which there is a Copy of a Letter from Joshua Moody to Increase Mather, noticing this Case of Witchcraft. Amongst the many learned Notes in the Volume, none accompanies this Letter, although the Substance of the Narrative has been long published.

¹ See Church's *Indian Wars*, 184-224. *Edit.* 1827. See also Baylies' *New Plymouth*, IV, 114, V, 96. *Edit.* 1866.

² *Magnalia*, VI, 69.

³ Howell's *History of Southampton*, 98.

In 1683, a Demon, as was alleged by a Contemporary, beset one Nicholas Desborough, of Hartford, in a Way altogether too puerile for serious Narration, were it not that it affords a Sort of Criterion by which to judge of the Standard of Intelligence of our Ancestors at a given Period in their History.

It appears from the Narrator¹ of the Story, that Nicholas was caught in the first Place in a Shower of "Stones, Pieces of Earth, Cobs of Indian Corn, &c.," all "falling upon and about him; which sometimes came in through the Door, sometimes through the Window, sometimes down the Chimney; at other Times they seemed to fall from the Floor of the Chamber, which yet was very close; sometimes he met with them in his Shop, the Yard, the Barn, and in the Field when at Work. In the House such Things happened frequently, not only in the Night but in the Daytime, if Desborough himself was at Home, but never when his Wife was at Home alone." The Devil did not seem to be very furious in the Administration of his Missiles, for it is said, that although other Persons about Nicholas were struck, they were not hurt, from which Circumstance we are to infer that an invisible Hand so reduced their Velocity or Impetus that they lost their Power to injure. But on one Occasion Nicholas received a Blow on his Arm which caused it to ache a little, and at another

¹ Dr. Increase Mather.

Time he received "a Scratch on one of his Legs," so as to draw Blood. What the Missile was that made the Scratch, there is no mention. "Some of the Stones hurled were of considerable Bigness; one weighed four Pounds. One Time a Piece of Clay came down Chimney, falling on the Table which stood at some Distance from the Chimney. One of the Family threw it on the Hearth, where it lay a considerable Time; but while they were at Supper the Piece of Clay was lifted up by an invisible Hand and fell upon the Table," and was quite hot.

After Narrating this childish Story, as a Marvel, and as the immediate Work of the Devil, the Relator informs us that Nicholas had had an Altercation with a Neighbour; that he had wrongfully withheld some valuable personal Property from that Neighbour, and that after he had made Restitution the Devil let him alone. The honest Narrator never imagined, probably, that the Devil was engaged, for this Time at least, on the Side of Justice, and hence was a very good Sort of a Devil. But how Mr. Desbrough viewed the Case we are not informed. But from a Record made in 1687,¹ of an Administration on his Estate, and according to Trumbull, he was one

¹ *Colonial Recs. Connecticut*, III, 241. Savage did not meet with him, or overlooked him in his Eagerness to dilate on Maj. Gen. John Desborough, which afforded him the Pleasure of denouncing the *Usurper* Cromwell, his *nicknamed* Parliaments, and *so called* Lords. It may be a Weakness of ours, but we believe a Lord made by Cromwell is as much to be regarded as though his Title had come down from the *Usurper* William the Conqueror.

of the first Settlers of Hartford, and died there the same Year (1683) in which he had been so "molested by an invisible Hand," and in Consequence of those Molestations.

A Case of Witchcraft which came up in Hadley this Year, is said to be the most notable of any that ever occurred in the County of Hampshire. The Witch appeared in the Person of Mrs. Mary Webster. Before her Marriage to Mr. William Webster she was a Reeve. Thirteen Years after they were married, Mary was supposed to have made a League with the Devil, and could ride through the Air on Broomsticks or without them.

It happened, as is often the Case with other Men, that William Webster became very poor, perhaps lived unhappily with his Wife. Poverty is discouraging, and it is intimated that it did not improve the Temper of Mary Webster; and it is also intimated she became spiteful, and in short a Termigant, looked upon all those about her as Enemies, and acted accordingly. Neighbours at last solved the Mystery of Behaviour by declaring her a Witch. Then numerous hitherto mysterious Circumstances were explained, and simple Occurrences were called to Mind and magnified in the Brains of some until their Explanation ended in Sorcery. Cattle refused to draw as they approached her House, and Horses balked, and could not be driven past her Door. In such Cases Drivers would enter the House and beat her, or threaten to do so, and then she gene-

rally let them pass. On one occasion she overturned a Load of Hay as it was about to pass, and the Man in Charge of it entered the House to whip her, but in the mean Time his Load of Hay was placed right Side up by an invisible Hand. At another Time, by looking at a Child in a Cradle at a Neighbour's House, she caused it to ascend to the Chamber Floor three successive Times when no visible Hands touched it. Once a Hen came down (Somebody's) Chimney and was somewhat scalded in a Pot which happened to be over the Fire. It was found that Mary Webster was suffering from a Scald, about that Time. These are but a small Part of the Sorceries attributed to her at the Time.

At Length, the People not being able to endure such Horrors any longer, brought Mary before the Court at Northampton, which consisted of Col. John Pynchon, of Springfield (Son of Mr. William Pynchon, who officiated in the Case of Hugh Parsons, in 1651), Peter Tilton and Philip Smith,¹ of Hadley, William Clarke and Aaron Cooke, of Northampton. Saml. Partrigg, of Hadley, being Clerk. The Record thus proceeds: "Mary Webster, of Hadley, being under strong Suspicion of having Familiarity with the Devil, or using Witchcraft, and having been in Examination, and many Testimonies brought in

¹ The same, I suppose, who was brought over from Ipswich to New England, in 1634, by his Father, Samuel Smith, at the Age of one Year. This corresponds with his Age as stated by Dr. C. Mather, as will be seen presently. See *Founders of New England*, 53.

against her, or that did seem to centre upon her, relating to such a Thing; and the worshipful Mr. Tilton binding her to appear at this Court, and having examined her yet further, and the Testimonies aforementioned, look upon her Case a Matter belonging to the Court of Assistants to judge of, and have therefore ordered said Mary to be, by the first convenient Opportunity, sent to Boston Gaol, and committed there as a Prisoner, to be further examined there, and the Clerk is to gather up all the Evidences and fit them to be sent down by the Wpf¹ Mr. Tilton to our honored Governour," for his Disposal.

Mary Webster was accordingly sent to Boston in the following April, and on the 22d of May she was taken from the Jail and placed before Governor Bradstreet, Deputy Gov. Danforth and the nine Assistants. The Grand Jury then proceed to indict her in the usual Verbosity of the time, "that, not having the fear of God," &c., "and being instigated by the Devil, hath entered into Covenant and had Familiarity with him in the Shape of a *Warraneage*,¹ and had his Imps sucking her, and Teats or Marks found on her, as in and by several Testimonies may appear, contrary to the Peace," &c. Hence the Grand Jury founded their Indictment mainly perhaps on Testimonies of Women who had searched her for Witch Teats.

Whether the poor persecuted Woman lay in

¹ An Indian Name for a *black Cat*.—Judd.

Jail from April to September is not certainly declared, but she probably did. However, she was brought to the Bar for Trial on the 4th of September, in Boston, and pleaded Not Guilty, making no Exception to any of the Jury. To what Length the Trial extended is not mentioned, but the Jury brought in a Verdict of Acquittal.

By a Note accompanying the Trial of Mrs. Webster, it is shown that the Expense of it amounted to twenty-three Pounds, fifteen Shillings and two Pence; five Pounds of which were for "bringing her down from Hadley to Prison," and two Pounds for taking her back to Hadley.

1684.

As strong a Case of Witchcraft was made out in Pennsylvania, at the Trial of Margaret Matson, in Delaware County, in 1684, as most of such Trials can show. The Parties in the Case resided near the Mouth of Crum Creek; and it is said by the Historian of that County,¹ that the Accused stood as well for Respectability as her Accusers. The Trial took Place in Philadelphia, before William Penn, on the 27th of February, 1684, or 1683, O. S. The Accusations were as ridiculous as any alleged at Witch Trials in New England or Elsewhere. Henry Drystreet alleged that he was told that the Prisoner was a Witch twenty Years ago, and that

¹ George Smith, M. D.

several Cows were bewitched by her; that James Saunderling's Mother told him that she bewitched her Cow.

Charles Ashcom testified that one Night the Daughter of the Prisoner called him up hastily, and when he came she "sayed there was a great Light but just before, and an old Woman with a Knife in her Hand at the Bedds Feet, and therefore she cryed out, and desired Jno. Simcock to take away his Calves, or else she would send them to Hell."

"Annakey Coolin said her Husband tooke the Heart of a Calf that died, as they thought by Witchcraft, and boyled it; whereupon the Prisoner came in and asked them what they were doing? They said boyling of Flesh. She said they had better they had boyled the Bones, with several other unseemly Expressions."

"Annakey Cooling's Attestation about the Gees, saying she was never out of her Conoo; and also that she never said any such Thing about the Calves Heart."

There were other Testimonies neither better nor worse than these, upon which the Jury brought Margaret in "Guilty of haveing the common Fame of a Witch, but not Guilty in Manner and Form as she stands indicted."

The Suggestion that the Verdict was according to the Ruling of Judge Penn, is quite a reasonable one; and "it is to be regretted that the Charge given by the Governour was not preserved, as it doubtless shaped the very righteous,

though rather ridiculous Verdict." And, as in some similar Cases, the Accused was bound over in the Sum of one hundred Pounds, for her good Behaviour for six Months. Her Husband, Neels Matson, and her Son-in-law, Anthony Neelson, were her Sureties.¹

It was probably at this Trial that Governour Penn inquired of the Accused, according to a Tradition, whether it were true that she was a Witch, and whether, as was alleged, she had rid through the Air on a Broomstick? And, on her answering in the Affirmative, the Judge said she was at perfect Liberty to ride on Broomsticks, for he knew of no Law against it, and thereupon ordered her Discharge.

It will be borne in Mind that Pennsylvania was yet a Wilderness, and that Philadelphia had been laid out scarcely three Years,² when this Case of Witchcraft occurred.

It has been claimed that this is the only Prosecution for Witchcraft in Pennsylvania, and our Researches are too limited to allow us to question the Assertion. An Annalist of that Locality has rather injudiciously remarked, that by the Verdict in the Case just recorded, "Pennsylvanians have probably escaped the Odium of Salem!" There may be different Degrees of Ignorance and Superstition. Let these afford what Exulta-

¹ Smith's *History of Delaware County*, 152-3. consisted of three or four little Cottages."—Watson's *Annals of*

² The Year previous (1683) it *Philadelphia*, 61.

tion they may. The Statute of James I. was acknowledged to be in full Force in the Colony.

A few Years later, namely, in 1695, Robert Reman was complained of at Chester for practising Divination, or, as it was then termed, *Geomanty*. He was "presented by the Grand Jury, which also presented for Prohibition divers Books relating to Witchcraft, Necromancy and so forth; as Hidson's *Temple of Wisdom*, Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, and *Cornelius Agrippa*.¹

1685.

How it had fared with Mary Webster, since her Acquittal in Boston, in 1683, we are not prepared to say, but in 1685 she was again accused of practising Sorcery, and of the serious Charge of Murder by that Practice. To understand the Feelings entertained by a large Majority of the Community when a Witch was supposed to be discovered, one of the Present Day should read some of Dr. Cotton Mather's Descriptions. It is true he may be thought an Extremist of his Time, but it is also true that his Views and Descriptions were nearly universally those of Everybody, the World over, at the Time of these Occurrences.

The Name of Mr. Philip Smith has been mentioned before, in Connection with Mary Webster. He was a Man of considerable Distinction in Hadley, was well known as Lieu-

¹ Watfon's *Annals*, 228.

tenant Smith, in a Period when Titles of Office were regarded with much Respect. This Gentleman died after a short Illness, on the 10th of January, 1685; and as his Malady was not understood by those who attended him, and as he had been among those who had brought Mary Webster to Trial at Boston, it was at once decided that his Death was occasioned by Witchcraft, and that Mary Webster was the Witch. And our Narrator,¹ being contemporaneous with the Event, ought to have been well informed with all the Particulars, he shall therefore speak for himself:

“Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty Years, a Son of eminently vertuous Parents, a Deacon of the Church in Hadley, a Member of the General Court, a Justice in the Countrey Court, a Select Man for the Affairs of the Town, and which crowns all, a Man for Devotion, Sanctity, Gravity, and all that was honest, exceeding exemplary. Such a Man was in the Winter of the Year 1684 [1683-4], murdered with an hideous Witchcraft, that filled all those Parts of New England with Astonishment. He was, by his Office concerned about relieving the Indigencies of a wretched Woman in the Town; who being dissatisfied at some of his just Cares about her, expressed herself unto him in such a Manner, that he declared himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving Mischief at her Hands.

¹ Cotton Mather, D. D.

“About the Beginning of January he began to be very valetudinareous, labouring under Pains that seemed ischiatic. The Standers by could now see in him, one ripening apace for another World, and filled with Grace and Joy to an high Degree. He shewed such Weanedness from, and Weariness of the World, that he knew not, he said, whether he might pray for his Continuance here. And such an Assurance he had of the Divine Love unto him, that in Raptures he would cry out, ‘Lord stay thine Hand, it is enough, it is more than thy frail Servant can beare.’ But in the midst of these Things he still uttered an hard Suspicion that the ill Woman had threatened him, had made Impressions with Inchantments upon him. While he remained yet of a sound Mind, he very sedately, but very solemnly charged his Brother, to look well after him. Tho’, he said, he now understood himself, yet he knew not how he might be. ‘But be sure’ said he ‘to have a Care of me; for you shall see strange Things. There shall be a Wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead, when ’tis thought I am!’ He pressed this Charge over and over, and afterwards became Delirious; upon which he had a Speech incessant and voluble, and (as was judged) in various Languages. He cried out, not only of Pains, but also of Pins tormenting him in several Parts of his Body; and the Attendants found one of them.

“In his Distresses he exclaimed much upon the Woman aforesaid and others, as being seen by

him in the Room; and there was divers Times both in that Room, and over the whole House, a strong Smell of Something like Musk, which once particularly so scented an Apple roasting at the Fire, that it forced them to throw it away. Some of the young Men in the Town being out of their Wits at the strange Calamities thus upon one of the most beloved Neighbours, went three or four Times to give Disturbance unto the Woman thus complained of. And all the While they were disturbing of her, he was at Ease, and slept as a weary Man. Yea these were the only Times that they perceived him to take any sleep in all his Illness. Gally Pots of Medicines provided for the sick Man, were unaccountably empty'd. Audible Scratchings were made about the Bed, when his Hands and Feet lay wholly still, and were heard by others. They beheld Fire sometimes on the Bed, and when the Beholders began to discourse of it, it vanished away. Divers People actually felt Something often stir in the Bed, at a considerable Distance from the Man. It seemed as big as a Cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the Bed's Head, tho' the sick Man lay wholly still, the Bed would shake so, as to knock their Heads uncomfortably. A very strong Man could not lift the sick Man to make him lie more easily, tho' he applied his utmost Strength unto it; and yet he could presently lift a Bedsted and a Bed, and a Man lying on it, without any Strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies. The Jury

that view'd his Corpse, found a Swelling on one Breast, his Privates wounded or burned, his Back full of Bruises, and several Holes that seem'd made with Awls. After the Opinion of all had pronounced him Dead, his Countenance continued as lively as if he had been alive; his Eyes closed as in Slumber, and his nether Jaw not fallen down.

"Thus he remained from Saturday Morning about Sun-rise, till Sabbath-day in the Afternoon; when those who took him out of the Bed, found him still warm, tho' the Season was as cold as had almost been known in any Age. And a New England Winter does not want for Cold. On the Night following, his Countenance was yet fresh as before; but on Monday Morning they found the Face extremely *tumid*, and discolour'd. It was black and blue, and fresh Blood seem'd running down his Cheek upon the Hairs. Divers Noises were also heard in the Room where the Corpse lay; as the Clattering of Chairs and Stools, whereof no Account could be given."

As in this Recital, so in all such by our Author, the Reader might be led to think him an Eye and Ear Witness to all his Narratives; but it should be remembered that all, or nearly all his Accounts came to him, at least, second handed; and often, perhaps, through a third or fourth idle Head, all Lovers of the Marvellous; ready at all Times, especially in the Night, to believe the Air full of ill shapen Monsters, bearing Commissions from the Devil, to enlist Followers, of

whom he might make Witches and send them forth to vex and torment Mankind.

As a Sort of Sequel to the Tragedy of Mary Webster, it should be related, that the poor and harassed old Woman lived many Years after she was believed to have killed Philip Smith by Sorcery. She died in 1696.¹

It will be remembered, that, in the Narrative just extracted, Mention is made of "some young Men" who "went three or four Times to give Disturbance" to Mrs. Webster. It is said by a reliable Historian,² that the young Miscreants went to her House, dragged her out, and hung her up till she was almost dead. They then cut her down, rolled her some Time in the Snow, and then buried her up in it, leaving her, as they doubtless supposed, for Dead! But by a Miracle, as it were, she survived this Barbarity. Still more miraculous it was, that the sick Man was greatly relieved during the Time the helpless old Woman was being so beastly abused by the Ruffians! The Tormentors must have been Infidels of the worst Type, else they would never have dared to molest one whom they believed to be a Witch, and hence able to afflict them as sorely as Mr. Smith was afflicted. And yet they doubtless believed that a Witch "could take off her Shoes and

¹ As though she had been tried for the Murder of Smith (which was not the Case), Savage says, "even though she was before a Jury at Boston, then peculiarly exposed to false Impressions, she was acquitted. Years more were needed for the full Triumph of the Devil and Cotton Mather"! ² Hutchinson.

go through a Keyhole" to torment whoever she pleased. Such are the Inconsistencies of Believers in Witchcraft.

A Case very similar to this occurred many Years later, in the County of Hereford, England, namely, in 1751, in the Town of Barkhamsted. "The People of this Place," writes De Foe,¹ "must be believed to be highly addicted to Superstition, if we form our Notions of them from the Barbarity great Numbers of them exercised, in the Month of April, 1751, thro' the Instigation of a Publican, who took himself to be bewitched by one Ruth Osbourne, and her Husband, two poor Creatures, whom, after various Instances of the most diabolical rage, under pretence of the exploded Trial of ducking, they dragged about the Length of two Miles, and threw into a muddy Stream; thro' which ill Usage the Woman died, and for which one Collins suffered Death."

1688.

There are few more remarkable Cases in the Annals of Witchcraft than that related as having happened in Boston, in the Year 1688, in the Family of a reputable Inhabitant of the Name of John Goodwin, living at the North End of the Town. As the Circumstances are minutely detailed by Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, by Gov. Hutchinson in the *History of Massachusetts*

¹ Or rather the Editor of his *Tour through Great Britain*, II, 187-8.

setts and in the *History and Antiquities of Boston*, it is not proposed to repeat them here. We therefore will only mention, that one Person suffered Death as the final Result of the strange Infatuation. The Victim appears to have been a poor old Woman, according to Robert Calef, "crazy and ill-conditioned, and an Irish Roman Catholic." She was arraigned before Judge Joseph Dudley, condemned and executed. Her Name was Glover, and we have no other Clue to her History. She was not a *crazy* Person, as we now understand the Word; that is, it was not meant that she was insane, but simply that she was weak and infirm. We have, in our Time, heard the Word Crazy applied to aged and feeble Persons.

It may, however, be interesting to have a few Specimens of what it is alleged that the bewitched Children experienced during the Time of their being tormented by "invisible Hands." And it may be safely remarked, that if the Half of what is solemnly vouched for, be true, it is no Wonder the Witnesses were amazed and astounded.

John Goodwin, the Father of the bewitched Children, came to Boston from Charlestown. His Children were Nathaniel, born 1672, Martha, born 1674, John, 1677, and Mercy, 1681. All these were in the Plot of "childish Mischief" which so "sadly perplexed and befooled Cotton Mather," as our Cotemporary expresses it, as though he were the only one "befooled." The

Commencement of the Trouble did indeed arise from a childish Circumstance. Some Article of Clothing was missed by the Family, when Mary Goodwin charged their Washerwoman's Daughter with purloining it. This Charge the Mother indignantly repelled, and perhaps in rough and irritating Language; whereupon Mary "was immediately taken with odd Fits, that carried in them Something diabolical." Soon after the other Sister and two Brothers "were horribly taken with the like Fits." What was thought to be extraordinary and preternatural by the most experienced Physicians, was the Fact that all the Children "were tormented alike; just in the same Part of their Bodies, and at the same Time," though they were far apart, and neither heard nor saw one another. At the same Time "their Pains flew like swift Lightning" from one Part of their Bodies to another. Yet, notwithstanding their Tortures, it was with supreme Credulity remarked, that they slept well all Night after nine or ten O'clock at Night! Undoubtedly, after performing their Deceptions all Day, they were too tired to keep awake all Night. "But, when the Day came, they were most miserably handled" again. They would so affect Blindness, Deafness and Insensibility generally, as completely to deceive their credulous and simple Friends. Their Tongues would be drawn down their Throats and then thrust out upon their Chins, "to a prodigious Length." Their Jaws would be thrown out of Joint, by

unavoidable Yawnes, "and anon clap together again like a spring Lock. They made piteous Outcries, that they were cut with Knives and struck with Blows, and the plain Prints of the Wounds were seen upon them."

Their Necks would be broken, so that the Bone would seem to be dissolved, and then it would become so stiff that there was no stirring of their Heads. At Devotions they were entirely deaf, and could hear Nothing of what was said; yet the Boston and Charlestown Ministers held a Fast at Mr. Goodwin's House, which relieved the youngest Child. It is not strange that a Child of eight Years was not able to keep up the juggling Business any longer, on the other Hand it is strange it held out any Length of Time.

But the Magistrates, "being awakened by the Noise of these grievous and horrid Occurrences," ordered Mrs. Glover to be taken into Custody. At her Trial her pleading "was with owning and bragging rather than Denial of her Guilt," so that the Court suspected she was under the Influence of another Witch of a higher Grade than herself. They caused her House to be searched, in which were found several Rag-babies. These were decided to be Puppets, being stuffed with Goats Hair, at which "the vile Woman confessed that her Way to torment the Objects of her Malice was by wetting of her Finger with her Spit-tle, and stroaking of these little Images.

When she was made to take one of these in her Hand, one of the Children fell into sad Fits."

The poor Woman spoke English but poorly, and from her Answers to perplexing Questions it was believed the Devil had deserted her, for Somebody heard her expostulating, the Night following, with a Devil, for thus deserting her, and telling him she had confessed all. Being a strict Catholick, she probably answered with a Sort of Fear that she had somehow gotten into a strange Inquisition. Our Author says, "I did myself give divers Visits unto her, wherein she told me," among other Things, that "her Prince was the Devil." Evidently the poor ignorant Creature thought the Reverend Divine was catechising her upon some Points of her Religion; and from all that can be gathered from their Conversation as reported by the Divine himself, he understood her quite as well as she did him. She was not willing he should pray with her without the Consent of some good Catholick Spirits. This the Reverend Divine construed to mean that she could not allow of it without the Consent of the Devil!

At her Execution she said the Children would not be relieved by her Death, and that it was not she that afflicted them. This was construed into a Threat that "they *should* not be relieved by her Death," and that others as well as she afflicted them. "Accordingly the three Children continued in their Furnace as before, and it grew rather seven Times hotter than it was, and their

Calamities went on, till they barked at one another like Dogs, and then purred like so many Cats; would complain that they were in a red-hot Oven, and sweat and pant as if they had been really so. Anon they would say cold Water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much. They would complain of being roasted on an invisible Spit, and then that their Heads were nailed to the Floor, and it was beyond an ordinary Strength to pull them from it."

"One of them dreamt that Something was growing within his Skin, across one of his Ribs. An expert Chirurgeon found there a brass Pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did, without a prestigious and mysterious Conveyance. Sometimes they would fly like Geese, and be carried with an incredible Swiftnes through the Air, having but just their Toes upon the Ground (not once in twenty Feet), and their Arms waved like the Wings of a Bird."

Thus are sketched but a small Part of the Wonders performed by the Goodwin Children, yet these will probably satisfy our Readers, as we have not Room for more.

1691.

At a Court in Springfield, on the 29th of September, 1691, Mary Randall was charged with Witchcraft. The Court entertained the Complaint, but why the Case was put off for a Year, unless the Evidence was deemed insufficient im-

mediately to try her, is left to Conjecture. At the end of a Year no Trial was had, but the Father of the Accused, William Randall, became bound for her good Behaviour; and this seems to be the Last heard of the Action, and the last Case of Witchcraft in the County of Hampshire.

1692.

So far as we have been able to learn, thirty Years had elapsed since the experimental Trial of a Witch by Water had taken Place in the Colonies. That related by Dr. Increase Mather, of 1662, was the first and only one up to that Date, so far as known. However hard it may be to believe that such Things ever happened in this Land, that comes to us so direct, and from so veracious a Contemporary of it, that a Disbelief in it cannot be entertained for a Moment. And as we have one other well authenticated Case it is here given. This, according to our Authority,¹ took place in Fairfield, Connecticut. In September of this Year (1692) Mercy Disborough, Wife of Thomas Disborough, of Campo, in Fairfield, and two or three other Women, were tried at Fairfield for Witchcraft, and all were acquitted except Mercy Disborough, who was found Guilty and sentenced to die. She is supposed to have been acquitted; and why she should have been subjected to the Ordeal of being thrown into the Water it is not easy to see; but our

¹ Sylvester Judd, Esq., in his *History of Hadley*, 233-4.

Authority goes on: "Mercy Disborough and Elizabeth Clauffon were bound, Hands and Feet, and put into the Water; and Witnesses testified that they 'swam like Cork;' yet Elifabeth was acquitted, and Mary was not condemned, because she floated."

Notwithstanding the Record of this Barbarity is unimpeachable, and may have been supposed unparalleled in this Country, it will subsequently appear that a similar one transpired in Virginia, and at a Date allowing less Excuse for its Perpetration.

So much has been written and published upon the great Outbreak of 1692, that only a brief Outline will be attempted in this Treatise. All Things considered, it is one of the most surprising Events in History. The Smallness of the Number of those engaged in it, in its Beginning, their Youth and Position in Society, their Ability to deceive Everybody for so long a Time! In any View that has yet been taken of it, its Narrator has found himself baffled to a Degree beyond that of any other Event in the whole Range of History, to account satisfactorily for the Conduct of the young Females through whose Instrumentality it was carried on. It required more *devilish* Ability to deceive, Adroitness to blind the Understanding, and to keep up a Consciousness of that Ability among themselves, than ever fell to the Lot of a like Number of Impostors in any Age of which the Writer has ever read; and

he can only say, if there are parallel Cases they have not fallen under his Observation.

It is true, that when once the Imagination is excited, the Reason may become confused, and a Loss of Judgment follows. These Circumstances happening in a Community bound in a Spell of superstitious Awe, may account in some Degree for the total Want of Judgment, common Sense and Humanity, so prominent in all Prosecutions for Witchcraft. Such, however, is believed to be the Master-Key to the Prosecutions and Persecutions to which a Belief in Witchcraft has given rise.

That which gave the Accusers great Advantage over all Opposition from every Quarter, was the religious Belief that nearly Everybody had in its Reality. It was at the Hazard of being denounced by every Christian as an Infidel, to utter a Word against its Existence, and it was believed that any Person might become a Witch. So thoroughly imbued with that preposterous and pernicious Belief, were all Parties, that not only the Court and Juries were demented by it, but the Accused also; for not one is remembered, who, in their last Moments, even questioned the Reality of Witchcraft; but on the other Hand, directly or indirectly acknowledged that there were Witches, and hoped they would be found out and punished, while they themselves disclaimed all Knowledge of it.

The principal Accusers and Witnesses, too, in the whole Term of the Witchcraft Prosecutions

were eight Females, nearly all young Girls, from eleven to twenty Years of Age. These were Abigail Williams, eleven; Mary Walcut, seventeen; Ann Putnam, twelve; Mercy Lewis, seventeen; Mary Warren, twenty; Elizabeth Booth, eighteen; Sarah Churchill, twenty; and Sufannah Sheldon.

Mary Walcutt was Daughter of Captain John Walcutt; Ann Putnam was a Daughter of Thomas Putnam; Mercy Lewis was a Servant living in Mr. Putnam's Family; Mary Warren lived in the Family of Mr. John Procter; Elizabeth Booth lived near John Procter; Sarah Churchill lived in the Family of George Jacobs, Sen^r.; Sufannah Sheldon lived in the Village.

These Females instituted frequent Meetings, or got up, as it would now be styled, a Club, which was called a Circle. How frequent they had these Meetings is not stated, but it was soon ascertained that they met "to try Projects," or to do or produce superhuman Acts. They doubtless had among them some Book or Books on Magic, and Stories of Witchcraft, which some one or more of their Circle professed to understand, and pretended to teach the Rest. Yet they were generally very ignorant, for out of the eight but two could write their Names. Such were the Characters which set in Motion that stupendous Tragedy, which ended in Blood and Ruin.

Inquiry as to these Accusers must have early occurred. Whether they or any of them were ever punished? They were not, because the

Party which had believed in them in the first Place, believed in Witchcraft still. The Believers and Infidels died out together. Years assuaged the aggrieved Minds of such as were living long after, and Nothing was done, excepting the Bestowal of a few paltry Pounds on some clamorous pretended Sufferers, and a few Shillings on those who needed it more, and were far greater Sufferers. And as to those who caused the Prosecutions, adds Hutchinson, "some of them proved Profligates, abandoned to all Vice, others passed their Days in Obscurity or Contempt."

March 1st. Sarah Good is apprehended and committed to Jail. On the same Day an Indian Woman is brought before Justices Hathorne and Corwin, who examined her respecting what had taken Place in the Rev. Samuel Parris's Family.

March 7th. Sarah Good, Sarah Osburn, and Tituba, are all sent to Boston to be there imprisoned. Sarah Osburn died there (in Jail) on the 10th of May following. Tituba lay in Jail thirteen Months, and was then sold to pay her Prison Charges. Besides Sarah Osburn, Anne Foster also died in Jail. And it is not unlikely, but on the other Hand is extremely probable, that many others suffered Death during the long and cold Winter of 1692-3, after inevitable Privations, and in many Cases loaded with Iron Chains!

From March, 1692, to May, 1693, nearly, if not more than two hundred Persons had been dragged to Prison, under color of Law and the

Mockery of a Trial. Some it is certain escaped through the good Offices of Friends outside, and some by Connivance with their Jailors. These, added to the Number which had died in Durefs, could hardly have been less than fifty. and we know from good Authority, that the Number set at Liberty in May, 1693, by Governour Phips' Proclamation was one hundred and fifty! most of whom, if not all, had lain all Winter in Jail.

It requires no Flexibility of Imagination to presume that many Families had been utterly ruined. The Imprisoned were generally Persons of small Estates, and small as they were, Confiscation fell upon them. Besides that Befom of Destruction, Jailor's Fees and Court Expenses were added to their Burthens.

The Number that perished by violent Deaths is shown to have been twenty, and of each of them follows brief Notices.

1. Bridget Bishop, said to have "long undergone the Repute of a Witch." One Samuel Gray testified to her having performed Witchcraft twenty Years previous. But on his Death Bed he acknowledged his Perfidy, and that his Accusations were wholly groundless. She was executed protesting her Innocence, June 10th, 1692.

2. George Burroughs, a Minister of the Gospel, was executed August 19th, 1692, under Circumstances which must ever cause a Thrill of indignant Horror, and the deepest Commiseration

to all who have, and ever hereafter may read the Story of his last and dying Scene.

3. Martha Carrier, of Andover, was executed the same Time with the Rev. Mr. Burroughs. She was the Wife of Thomas Carrier, Husbandman. The Number of Testimonies against her were many and surprising, but not so surprising as that any were weak enough to believe them.

4. Giles Cory was by an old Law put to the most cruel Death. When arraigned before the Court he refused to plead, or answer Questions; for he knew what his Fate would be in either Case. So to avoid giving the Prosecution any Advantage, he would answer Nothing. Whereupon he was sentenced to be pressed to Death. Hence, refusing to put himself on Trial, no Trial actually took place, and his Death was the Result of his Obstinacy, and a Firmness with scarcely a Parallel, certainly not in American Annals. At the Time of his Death (September 16th, 1692) he was over eighty Years old. He had been an "Iron Man," as would be said of such in our Times. In the Commencement of the Troubles he acted a singular Part, and in his earlier Career had acquired, whether justly or not it is difficult to determine, the Ill-will and Envy of many of his Neighbours, some of whom were glad of an Opportunity to see him troubled and humbled. But in the latter Particular they signally failed, for he stood firm to the last Breath. Whether he was more than once required to plead "Guilty," or "Not Guilty," our Records do not state, but it

is likely the old English Law was observed, and that he was brought before the Court three Times, and three Times required to plead.¹

Well, though ironically, has the Ballad perpetuated the Memory of Giles Cory, in the Lines which follow :

"Giles Corey was a Wizzard strong,
A stubborn Wretch was he,
And fitt was he to hang on high
Upon the Locust Tree.

So when before the Magistrates
For Triall he did come,
He would no true Confession make
But was compleatlie dumbe.

'Giles Corey,' said the Magistrate,
'What hast thou heare to pleade
To these that now accuse thy Soule
Of Crimes and horrid Deed?'

Giles Corey — he said not a Worde,
No single Worde spake he ;
'Giles Corey,' sayth the Magistrate,
'We'll preſs it out of thee.'

They got them then a heavy Beam,
They laid it on his Breast ;
They loaded it with heavie Stones,
And hard upon him preſt.

'More Weight,' now said this wretched Man,
'More Weight,' again he cryed,
And he did no Confession make,
But wickedly he dyed."

¹ Mather says he was often before the Court.—*Wonders of the Invisible World*, 210, Edition 1866.

He laid in the Jail at Ipswich from the 19th of April till the 16th of September, excepting the Time occupied in his Examination and Execution.

5. Martha Cory was the Wife of Giles Cory, a Woman of blameless Life, a pious and worthy Woman. She was "cried out upon" for that very Reason; for hitherto the miscreant Accusers had struck at Persons in more humble Circumstances, and now to raise their own Importance began to accuse Persons whom they did not dare to attempt at first. She was executed September 22d, 1692, "protesting her Innocency, concluding her Life with an eminent Prayer upon the Ladder."

Upon her Case our Balladist says:

"Dame Corey lived but six Dayes more,
But six Dayes more lived she,
For she was hanged at Gallows Hill
Upon the Locust Tree."

6. Mary Easty was Wife of Isaac Easty, about fifty-eight Years of Age, and the Mother of seven Children. She was Sister of Rebecca Nurse and Sarah Cloyse. She appears to have been a meek and amiable Lady, and the Judges seemed somewhat staggered when in this Character she stood before her Accusers. But as yet the Monsters had met with no Check, and their Testimony was believed by the imbecile Court. After her Condemnation, she made a most touching Petition to the Judges "and the Reverend

Ministers," in which she besought them, "not for my own Life," she urged, "for I know I must die, and my appointed Time is set; but, if it be possible, that no more Innocent Blood be shed, which cannot be avoided in the Way and Course you go in." All availed Nothing. She was one of the eight hung at the same Time, namely, September 22d, 1692. It was upon this Occasion that the Rev. Nicholas Noyes, then present, and viewing the Victims, remarked to the By-standers: "What a sad Thing it is to see eight Firebrands of Hell hanging there!" What could be expected of Followers when such were the Leaders? Mr. Noyes was a single Man, and in great Repute elsewhere as well as in the Community in which he then was. He is said to have acknowledged his Error respecting the Witchcraft Prosecutions; but whether he made any Atonement by assisting those he had helped to ruin, we have no Evidence. His Election Sermon of 1698 shows a great Amount "of Heathen Learning," and by some Passages in it he evidently had the Horrors of 1692 before the Eye of his Imagination. "With Grief and Shame we read over and meditate upon some Texts spoke of Israel: 'as they were increased so they sinned,' &c. So hath it been with us. As for our Degeneracy, it is too palpable to be denied, and too gross to be excused." Again, "God is a very great Stranger to the Affairs of New England. Instead of Plenty we have had Scarcity; instead of Health, Sicknes; instead of Peace,

War; impoverished and brought low. We have had remarkable Trouble from Heaven and Hell."

7. Sarah Good, of Salem Village, was one of the first of the Victims of the Delusion. Being poor and friendless, and of general bad Repute, her Persecution was not regarded as such, and thus a Beginning of the nefarious Work was easily accomplished. Although despised and treated with all Manner of Indignities, her Spirit was not broken, as appears from her Answer to Mr. Noyes at the Place of Execution. He insultingly told her she was a Witch, and that she knew it. She indignantly replied, "You are a Liar. I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizzard, and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink." She was hanged July 19th, 1692.

8. Elizabeth, Wife of James How of Ipswich, was arraigned on the 30th of June, 1692. The Testimony against her was very voluminous, but was absurd and childish as on all similar Occasions. She was a pious and amiable Woman, but Nothing could save her, and on the 19th of July she was hanged.

9. George Jacobs, Sen., of Salem, was executed at the same Time with the last mentioned. His Grand-daughter, Margaret Jacobs, testified against him at his Trial, but when it was too late, acknowledged her Perfidy, in a piteous Letter, still extant.

10. Susanna Martin had long been under the Imputation of being a Witch, and has been

noticed in the Events of 1669. She was one of those executed on the 19th of July. She belonged to Amesbury, and appears to have been a Woman of great Spirit and business Capacity, and perhaps somewhat prone to wordy Contests, by which she had excited the Jealousy of envious Neighbours. Her Trial took place on the 29th of June, in which she was found Guilty, and was hanged on the 19th of July following. At her Examination her Replies to the Judge's Questions show a Mind far superior to that of the Court; and for Directness, Conciseness, and common Sense, has commended itself to all Readers from that Day to this, and has thousands of Times been quoted.

11. Rebecca Nurse, of Salem Village, a Lady of great Worth, but aged and in poor Health, was drawn into the awful Vortex in what would appear at this Time, but from a Knowledge of the Existence of Feuds which arose from various Causes, as a very strange Occurrence. She was sacrificed in a Manner too cruel for Belief. The Jury returned a Verdict of Not Guilty, but the Court, by the most barefaced Perversion of her Answers, and being determined on her Destruction, sent the Jury out again and forced a Verdict of Guilty from them! There is Nothing more memorable, or lamentable, in all the Trials and Convictions, than the Case of this Poor Woman. She was hanged with the five that suffered on the 19th of July.

12. Alice Parker, with eight more, received Sentence of Death on the 17th of September,

and was executed five Days after. She belonged to Salem, the Wife of John Parker, Mariner. As Nothing is heard of her Husband in connection with the Prosecutions, he was perhaps away at Sea.

13. Mary Parker was also hanged at the same Time, protesting her Innocence, as did the others, to the Last. She belonged to Topsfield, and may have been no Connection of Alice. Their Trials do not appear among the Records.

14. John Procter, with six others, was tried on August 5th, condemned, and executed August 19th following. He was committed to the Prison in Boston on the 11th of April preceding. His Residence was at Salem Farms, but had lived in Ipswich. He was not sent to the Jail there, doubtless because he had many Friends; of these, thirty-two signed a Petition for his Reprieve, who gave him a good Character.

15. Ann Pudeater was of Salem. Mr. Upham thinks her Name was originally or really Poin-dexter, the Widow of Jacob Pudeater, supposed to have been about seventy Years old at the Time of her Prosecution, and was possessed of considerable real Estate in Salem, where she resided. She was brought up for Examination on the 12th of May, and again on the 2d of July, and then sent to Jail, where she doubtless lay till the 22d of September, when she made one of the eight "Firebrands of Hell" upon the Gallows, as the unfeeling and inhuman Noyes expressed himself.

16. Willmet Redd (so written in the Records)

or Wilmot Reed or Read, belonged to Marblehead. Nothing has reached us concerning this Person, but as being one of the *Firebrands* that perished protesting Innocence to the last. There was a Read Family at this Period in Marblehead, but no Christian Name appears among them of Willmet or Wilmot.

17. Margaret Scott was of Rowley, Widow, and one of the *eight Firebrands* who suffered protesting Innocence. Of her Family and Connections we have met with Nothing, beyond what is found in Gage's *History of Rowley*, from which it seems she was poor and old, two important Conditions in the early Prosecutions.

18. Samuel Wardwell was of Andover, was hanged on the 22d of September also. He confessed himself Guilty, and on this and specter Testimony he was condemned. Before he was swung off he spoke to the Multitude of Spectators, declaring his Innocence.

19. Sarah, wife of John Wildes, of Topsfield was executed on the 19th of July, having, with four others, been condemned on the 30th of June preceding. She was arrested about the 22d of April, and imprisoned till her Execution. The gruff Denunciations and Demand to confess of the Court, did not move her, and she died firmly denying all Knowledge of the Crime for which she suffered.

20. John Willard, of Salem Village, had been a Deputy in making Arrests for Witchcraft, until he became satisfied that the Persons accused were

above any such Suspicion. As soon as his Decision was known to the miscreant Prosecutors they "cried out on him." And though he attempted to save himself by Flight, he was pursued, brought back, tried, and executed on the 19th of August.

Thus have been briefly noticed those that were executed. But those who suffered Everything but Death, and some even Death itself, in dismal Jails throughout a New England Winter, cannot be noticed here, but the Reader will find all he can desire, probably, in the three Volumes of *The Witchcraft Delusion, &c.*, published by Mr. W. E. Woodward, in 1866, and in the Rev. Mr. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, published in 1867, both already mentioned.

Of many of the Sufferers very little is known. Some, and perhaps a very considerable Number, fled to other Parts. At Ipswich, Rachel Clinton or Clenton, Wife of Lawrence Clinton, was before the Court there, and there is a Charge for Fetters (Irons) having been made for her. Also Mehitable, wife of John Downing, was arrested on the 23d of September, but was released on her Husband giving Security. Prosecutions had begun to relax, and on the Day following, Mary, Wife of Hugh Row, Phebe, Wife of Timothy Day, and Widow Rachel Dinson, all of Gloucester, were let out of Ipswich Jail on Bail. The following named Persons, all of Gloucester, also, were brought to Ipswich Court for Examination, on the 30th of October; namely, Esther, Wife

of Samuel Elwell, Rebeckah, Wife of Richard Dike, and Abigail, daughter of Hugh Row. They were held till the 7th of November, and then set at Liberty.

Some Others of Gloucester met with Trouble besides those mentioned in the last Paragraph. One Abigail Soames of that Town was taken on a Charge of Witchcraft, sent to the Jail in Boston, and there incarcerated from the 23d of May, 1692, to January 3d, 1693. Nothing is found respecting whom she was accused of bewitching, or her Examination. She was, no doubt, among the one hundred and fifty discharged, before mentioned.

As Dr. Cotton Mather has been more severely denounced than any other Person connected with the Delusion of that Period, the Reader may wish, in this Connection, to see how he shuffled out of it after the Tempest had subsided. To say the least of it, the Author has shown a Dexterity not surpassed in any other Case with which we are acquainted, "of casting a Mist" before his Readers' Eyes, by which he hoped to escape their Animadversions, and thus to pass on to Futurity, maintaining a Position in the first Rank of great Men, as he hitherto seems to have done, especially in his own Estimation.

He wrote in 1698: "As to our Case at Salem, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken Principles; as that Satan cannot assume the Shape of an innocent Person, and in that Shape do mischief to the Bodies and Estates of Mankind;

and that the Devil when he doth Harm to Persons in their Body or Estate, it is (at least, most commonly, generally and frequently) by the help of our Neighbour, some Witch in Covenant with the Devil; and that when the Party suspected looks on the Parties supposed to be bewitched, and they are thereupon struck down into a Fit, as if struck with a Cudgel, it is a Proof of such a Covenant. *Cum multis aliis.*"

And again: "When this Prosecution ceased, the Lord so chained up Satan, that the Afflicted grew presently well. The Accused are generally quiet; and for five Years since, we have no such Molestation by them." He had previously remarked, that "this Matter was carried on chiefly by the Complaints and Accusations of the Afflicted (bewitched ones, as it was supposed) and then by the Confessions of the Accused condemning themselves and others. Yet Experience shewed, that the more there were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan; and the Number of Confessors increasing, did but increase the Number of the Accused; and the executing of some made way for the apprehending of others; for still the Afflicted complained of being tormented by new Objects, as the Former were removed. So those that were concerned grew amazed at the Number and Quality of the Persons accused, and feared that Satan by his Wiles had enwrapped innocent Persons under the Imputation of that Crime. And at last it was evidently seen that there must be a Stop put, or the

Generation of the Children of God would fall under that Condemnation. Henceforth, therefore, the Juries generally acquitted such as were tried, fearing they had gone too far before."¹

A disinterested Spectator could hardly have written thus, at that Day, unless he had really been but a Spectator, and had never encouraged the abominable Proceedings. Now, when it is known that the Author was a considerable Promoter of them, his "Mist" becomes too transparent for Concealment, and the third Person can by no Ambidexterity be palmed off for another.

The Account of the Delusion of 1692 will be closed with the following Indictments and Proceedings against Mr. Philip English, of Salem:

"Essex in the Prouince of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Ss.

"Anno R R^s and Regino Gulielmi and Maria Anglia, &c. Quarto: Annoq. Domini, 1692.

"The Jurors for o^r Sou^r Lord and Lady the King and Queen, doe present, that Phillip English of Salem, in the County of Essex M^rchant vpon the 31st Day of May, in the year aforesaid, and diuers other dayes and times as well before as after, certaine Detestable arts called Witchcraft and forceries, wickedly, Mallistiously and feloniously hath vsed, practiced and Exercised, at and in

¹ Michael Wigglesworth "feared that innocent Blood had been shed," and thus wrote to Increase Mather, in 1705, the same Year in which he died, and makes a very fair Apology for the Judges. Cotton

Mather's Letter to John Richards, dated May 31, 1692, should be read in this Connection, in which he makes out a better Case than in our Extract. It is in *Colls. Ms. Hist. Soc.*, XXXVIII, 391-7.

the Towne of Salem in the County of Effex aforefaid, in, upon, and againft one Mary Wallcott of Salem aforefaid, fingle Woman, by faid wicked Acts the faid Mary Wallcott, y^e Day and Yeare aforefaid, and diuers other dayes and Times, boath before and after, was and is Tortured, afflicted, Confumed, Pined, wafted and Tormented; againft the Peace of o^r Sou^r Lord and Lady, the King and Queen, their Crowne and dignity, and the Lawes in that Cafe made and Provided."

Of the fame Tenor and Date there is another Draft of an Indictment againft Mr. Englifh for bewitching "one Elizabeth Booth of Salem." Both of thefe are endorfed, "Ignoramus," and figned, "ROBERT PAYNE, *Foreman*." Hence thefe Bills were thrown out, or paffed as not true Bills, although Mr. Englifh was arrefted on the fame 31st of May, and fent to Bofton and caft into Jail, where he, with his Wife, lay fome fix Weeks or more. In the Meantime, while other Evidence was being collected, and other Preparations for his Trial were being made, he was able, through the Advice and Aid of Friends, to efcape from Prifon. He fled to New York, and there found an Afylum till the Folly and Madnefs of Profecutions were at an End.

Thofe Profecutions did not ceafe until near the End of April, 1693. Among our original Papers we find the following, in a remarkably neat Hand, but the Writer of it is not detected.

Robert Payne, the *Foreman* wrote a strange Hand, judging from his Signature.

"The Deposition of mercy Lewis, aged 8tene, this Deponent Testifieth and faith that Last night Philip English and his Wife came to mee, also Goodwife Dasten, Eliz Johnson and old pharo¹ of Linn: said Mrs. English vrged mee to set my Hand to a Booke, and told mee she would Afflict mee Dreadfully, and kill mee if I did not; so also if I would but touch the Booke I should bee well, or else I should never, s^d mrs. English s^d she might bring the Book now she thought ever one of them would bee cleared, and now at this present time before the Grandiury s^d Philip English, his Wife, and old Pharoh, came into the Roome, or their shape, and stroke mee on the Brest; and almost Choaked mee, and s^d they would strangle mee if they could.

"owned before the Grandiury vpon the oath she had taken Jan^{re} 12th 169³

Attests ROBERT PAYNE

foreman."

The same Day William Beale gave his Deposition against Mr. English. He had on the preceding August made another, both of which will be found in *The Witchcraft Delusion, &c.*, Vol. III, 181-5, preceded by an Account of that Gentleman, to which the Reader is referred.

¹ This "Old Pharo" was a Negro, Slave of Zaccheus Collins, of Lynn. Besides Pharoah, Collins owned three other Slaves, whose

Names were Essex, Prince and Cagto.—Lewis, *Hist. Lynn*, Ed. 1865, Page 344.

Respecting those who saved their Lives by confessing themselves Witches, it may be proper to remark that such Confessions were wrung from them under Circumstances calculated to excite the greatest Pity and Commiseration for those who made such Confessions; for it must be borne in Mind that all Parties believed in Witchcraft, and that some Persons must be Witches, and that the Troubles complained of were caused by them. Imagine feeble Women forced from their Families and cast into cold and damp Prisons with heavy Irons upon them! Six Females of Andover were thus cruelly incarcerated. It came about in this Wise. The Wife of one Joseph Ballard was taken sick, and it was at once surmised that she was bewitched. To find out who were the Witches, two of the "Afflicted" at Salem were brought to Andover to make the Discovery, and thus commenced the "direful Calamity" which befel that Town. At what Time the six Females were first suspected does not appear; but those in Authority ordered them to come together at the Meeting house, where, after a Prayer was had by the Minister, the Accused were blindfolded and led up to the "Afflicted" already in their Fits. The suspected Females being thus led up to them and their Hands placed upon them by their Conductors, the Afflicted were at once free from their Fits, "and said they were well." Whereupon, say the blindfolded, "we were all seized upon as Prisoners, by a Warrant from the Justice of the

Peace," hurried off to Salem, utterly amazed and astonished, and "affrighted even out of their Reason." Such was their Introduction to Irons upon their Limbs, and a near Prospect of an ignominious Death upon the Gallows. This was their Condition when Friends beset them on every Side to confess themselves Witches, as the only Means of saving their Lives. Hour after Hour, and Day after Day, they were besought by dear and near Kindred and Friends to confess, until they were worn out for want of Rest and Sleep. It is not strange that their Minds wandered until they imagined they experienced what they confessed; as that they rode through the Air on Poles to certain Rivers or Ponds, where they were baptized by the Devil; that they had signed his Book, and given themselves to him Soul and Body, and thus bound themselves to worship him; that in return they could command him to afflict whomsoever they should designate. These Things being embodied in the Indictments were a Guide to Confessions, and were forced from them by leading Questions. A Cotemporary¹ says he is sure that most of the Charges in those Indictments "would be better laid against the Judges in the Oyer and Terminer," for that those Judges "served, if they did not worship the Devil, and took him to be their God, whether they signed his Book or not. Had that Book been brought into Court, as it ought

¹ Savage.

to have been, or the Government called on to show, at least, what Means they had used to get the precious Record to the open View of the Jury, the Name of William Stoughton, and more than one of his associate Judges, I doubt not, as clearly as that of any of the Accused, would have flared in the sapphire Blaze." Such an Idea would naturally occur to any ordinary Lawyer of our Times, but the Accused of those Days had no Counsel to demand in their Behalf that the Book be produced in Court. Had such a Demand been made it would doubtless have been scouted by the Judges. Besides, we are told by an able Lawyer¹ of that Time that "the Devil could not be lawfully summoned" to bring his Book into Court.

1700.

An Execution for Witchcraft took place in Albany, in the Year 1700, related in a Communication of the Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade and Plantations. As it is sufficiently Concise for our Purpose, and graphically sketched, it follows in his own Words:

"Aquendero, the chief Sachem of the Onondage Nation, who was Prolocutor for all the Five Nations at the Conference I had two Years ago at Albany, has been forced to fly from thence, and come and live on Coll. Schuyler's Land near Albany. Aquendero's Son is poysoned, and

¹ Sir Robert Filmer.

languishes, and there is a Sore broke out on one of his Sides, out of which there comes Handfulls of Hair, so that they recon he has been bewitched, as well as poisoned.

"I met with an old Story from the Gentlemen of Albany, which I think worth relating. Decannissore, one of the Sachems of the Onondages, married one of the Praying Indians in Canada (by Praying Indians is meant such as are instructed by the Jesuits). This Woman was taught to poison, as well as to pray. The Jesuits had furnished her with so subtile a Poison, and taught her a Legerdemain in using it, so that whoever she had a Mind to poison, she would drink to 'em a Cup of Water, and let drop the Poison from under her Nail (which are always very long, for the Indians never pare 'em) into the Cup. This Woman was so true a Disciple to the Jesuits, that she has poisoned a Multitude of our Five Nations that were best affected to us. She lately coming from Canada in Company of some of our Indians, who went to visit their Relations in that Country who have taken Sides with the French; and, there being among others a Protestant Mohack (a proper goodly young Man), him this Woman poisoned so that he died two Days Journey short of Albany, and the Magistrates of that Town sent for his Body and gave it a Christian Burial. The Woman comes to Albany, where some of the Mohacks happening to be, and among 'em a young Man nearly related to the Man that had been poisoned, who espying

the Woman, cries out with great Horror, that there was that beastly Woman that had poisoned so many of their Friends, and it was not fit she should live any longer in this World to do more Mischief; and so made up to her, and with a Clubb beat out her Brains."¹

Although Lord Bellomont does not expressly say he was himself a Believer in the Existence of Witches, it is not probable that he would have taken so much Pains to detail this Story had he not imagined that those to whom he was communicating it were Believers.

1706.

Few more disgraceful Scenes were ever enacted in the Prosecutions for Witchcraft, either in Connecticut or Massachusetts, than this which took place in Virginia, next to be related.²

There lived in Princess Anne County, in that Province, a Female named Grace Sherwood. The Court of that County sat on the third of January, 1706; present as Justices, Beno. Burroughs, Col. Mosely, John Cornick, Capt. Hancock and Capt. Chapman. On Complaint of Luke Hill and his Wife, a Warrant was issued summoning the Woman to appear at the next Court. As she did not appear an Attachment was issued to the Sheriff to arrest and bring her there. According to the Writ the Accused was arraigned

¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, IV, 689.

² See Barber. — *Virginia Historical Colls.*, and Forest's *Norfolk*.

on the 7th of February following, "and y^e Matter being after a long Time debated, and ordered y^t y^e said Hill pay all Fees of this Complaint, and y^t y^e said Grace be here next Court to be searched according to y^e Complaint, by a Jury of Women to decide y^e said difference, and y^e Sheriff is likewise ordered to summon an able Jury accordingly."

Nothing further seems to have been done in this singular Specimen of a back-woods Court till the 7th of March following. The Justices then present were Col. Edward Mofely, Lieut. Adam Thorrowgood, Maj. Henry Sprat, Capt. Horatio Woodhouse, Mr. John Cornick, Capt. Henry Chapman, Mr. Wm. Smith, Mr. John Richefon, and Capt. Geo. Hancock. The Jury of Women reported that they had searched Grace Sherwood and found two Things like "Titts," with several other Spots. The names of the Women are given in the Records. Here the Court found itself in deep Water, and adjourned over without coming to any Decision; but on the 2d of May, the Record states, that "whereas a former Complaint was brought against Grace Sherwood for Suspicion of Witchcraft, which by y^e Attorney Generall Tomson's Report to his Excellency in Council was too generall and not charging her with any peticular Act; therefore represented to them, y^t Princess Ann Court, might, if they thought fitt, have her examined de novo; and y^e Court being of Opinion y^t there is great Cause of Suspicion, doe therefore order y^t y^e Sheriff take

y^e said Grace into his safe Custody, until she shall give Bond and Security for her Appearance to y^e next Court to be examined de novo, and y^t y^e Constable of y^t Precinct goe with y^e Sheriff and search y^e said Grace's House and all suspicious Places carefully for all Images and such like Things."

The Examination and Search by the Jury of Women seems not to have been satisfactory, and the same Jury were ordered to make a new examination and to report at the next Court. But they declined the Service, and a new Jury of Women was empannelled.

On the 5th of July (1706) we find this Record of Proceedings: "Whereas for this [these] severall Courts y^e Business between Luke Hill and Grace Sherwood on Suspicion of Witchcraft, have been for severall Things omitted, particularly for want of a Jury to search her, and y^e Court being doubtfull that they should not get one y^s Court, and being willing to have all means possible tryed, either to acquit her or to give more Strenth to y^e Suspicion, y^t she might be dealt with as deserved."

It was finally decided that the old English Test should be put in Practice, namely, of casting the Accused into the Water. "The Sheriff to take all such convenient Assistance of Boats and Men, as shall be by him thought fitt, to meet at Jno. Harper's Plantacon, in order to take y^e said Grace forthwith, and put her into the Water above Mans Depth, and try her how she swims therein."

The *Executioners* were ordered, that if it was found that she would swim to be careful not to drown her, and as soon as she came out, "to request as many antient and knowing Women as possible to examine her carefully for Teats, Spots and Marks about her Body not usuall on others." The Court ordered further, "that some Women be requested to shift and search her before she goe into y^e Water, y^t she carry Nothing about her to cause any further Serpicion. She was accordingly bound and cast in, and being found to swim was taken out again.

There seems to have been much halting in the Case of the poor doomed Woman, this last Record being under the 10th of July. Mention is made of many Witnesses that testified against her, but what they testified to, excepting that she was a Witch, Nothing appears. If the Testimony was written down it was not probably preserved; and we find no mention of the Case until the 15th of September (1706) when "having had fundry Evidences sworne, proving many Circumstances against her which she could not make any Excuse, or little or nothing to say in her own Behalf, only seemed to rely on what y^e Court should doe; and thereupon consented to be tryed in y^e Water, and likewise to be searched againe, with Experiments: being tryed, and she swimming when therein," as before mentioned, was searched again "by five antient Weamen, who all declared on Oath, y^t she is not like them, nor no other Woman y^t they knew of; having two Things

like Titts on her private Parts, of a black collar, being blacker than y^e Rest of her Body. All which Circumstances the Court weighing in their Consideracon, doe therefore order that y^e Sheriff take y^e said Grace into his Custody, and to commit her Body to y^e common Joal of this County, their to secure her by Irons or otherwise, there to remain till such Time as he shall be otherwise directed, in order for her coming to y^e common Goal of y^e Countey to be brought to a future Tryall there."

What became of Grace Sherwood does not appear to be known to the People of the Region where she was *experimented* upon. A Historian of an adjacent Part of the Old Domain has a very brief Notice of the Trial, which he says was a very *Grace-less* Affair! And we must be allowed to say that it is our deliberate Opinion that he has not detailed the Subject with any *Grace* at all.

Owing to the shockingly bungling and illiterate Manner in which the Records of this Affair appear, it is not easy to construct an intelligent Narrative out of them. But one Thing is very evident, namely, that the Accused was as savagely and persistently pursued as any one could have been similarly circumstanced. Amidst it all there must have been Scenes both comical and highly ludicrous; imagine a Person to be thrown into a Lake, to meet a watery Grave, provided the Party did not float upon its Surface, and at the same Time the Court "ordering the Sheriff not

to expose her to the Rain, as she might take Cold, y^e Weather being very rainy and bad”!

The Trial of *sinking or swimming* was ordered on the 5th of July, but it did not then take place, probably by Reason of the Inability of the Sheriff to get a Jury of Women to attend to the *delicate* Duties assigned them.

The Place where Trial by Water was made is an Inlet of Lynnhaven Bay, in Princess Anne County, and known to this Day as *Witch Duck*.

1712.

In South Carolina, as late as 1712, the Law “against Conjuraton, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits,” was declared to be in force. It is quite probable that some Cases of Witchcraft had occurred among some of the South Carolinians, which caused the Revival of the Act of James the First; but what they were, and how extensive, we have no Means at Hand to determine, as their Chroniclers are silent upon the Subject. But one Thing is very certain, and that is, if they did not raise Witches down there, they raised the Devil very early.

About this Period some suspected of Witchcraft were seized upon by a sort of ruffianly Vigilance Committee, and condemned to be burnt; and were actually roasted by Fire, although we do not learn that the Injuries thus inflicted proved fatal. The Parties so tortured, or their Friends, brought an Action in the regular Courts

for the Recovery of Damages, but the Jury gave them Nothing!

1720.

There was a Case of Witchcraft (as supposed) in the then sparsely settled and out of the way Town of Littleton, in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, in 1720, which was quite as formidable in its first Stages as that was in Salem Village, but it was too late in the Century for it to make much Headway, and the Inhabitants were too few to allow it to spread over any considerable Territory. The Names of those who were Actors in it are suppressed in the Materials used, and not much Pains have been taken to recover them. The principal Impostor having removed to Medford in the same County, a few Years after the Affair had blown over, offered herself as a Candidate to the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Turell's Church there. Her "Experience" was considered satisfactory, and she was about to take her Place among the Members, when, in the Meantime, the reverend Minister preached a Sermon, the Burthen of which was, that Liars would go straight to Hell, be cast into a Lake of Fire and Brimstone, and there to seethe for ever and ever, and so forth. Happening to hear this Discourse she was overcome with Remorse, supposing the Preacher had her Case in his Mind. So, in great Tribulation she went to him, deeply bewailing her Deception, made a new Confession, and in

due Time was admitted into the Church, and for aught that has appeared to the Contrary, lived a consistent Christian Life ever after.

As in the Cases of the Goodwin Children of Boston, and those of the Paris Family at Salem, those of Littleton were the three Daughters of "one J. B.," whose Ages ranged five, nine and eleven Years. One of these (probably the oldest) went to reside at Medford, as just mentioned. She told all the Circumstances to Mr. Turell, who wrote them down. The Paper thus drawn up was in the Hands of Governor Hutchinson when he was preparing his *History of Massachusetts*, who has given a Synopsis of it in that Work.¹

1728.

There were doubtless some unaccountable Transactions in the Colony of Rhode Island which caused the Authorities there to enact or reenact the Law "against Conjuraton, Witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked Spirits; that Witchcraft is and shall be Felony; and whosoever shall be lawfully convicted thereof shall suffer the Pains of Death."

It is here proposed to suspend these Researches. They might easily be carried to a much later Period, and pretty serious Cases too might be de-

¹ See Vol. II, Pages 20 and 21, Edition, Boston, 1767.

tailed, but what has been done will probably be as much as will ever be read. The Interest of the Publick will decide that Question. If more is wanted, it may be forthcoming in future Editions.



APPENDIX.

No. I.



XAMINATION of Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, on a Charge of Witchcraft, and the Testimonies given against him, before Mr. William Pynchon, at Springfield, 1651.

[NOTE.—The Figures in Brackets denote the Paging of the original Manuscript, which having been put together wrong, was paged before the misplacing was detected.]

[21] Hugh Parsons Examinations. All these Testimonies now taken vpon Oath
Before me, WILLIAM PYNCHON.

[23] The Examination of Hugh Parsons. 1. d. of [March?] and his 2d Exam. y^e [obliterated].

HUGH PARSONS you are attached upon Suspition of Witchcraft.

George Lankton¹ and Hannah his Wife do ioynly testifie vpon Oath: that on ffriday last, being the 21 ffebruary, they had a Pudding in y^e same Bagg, and that as soone as it was flipped out of the Bag, it was cut lengthwise like the former Pudding,² and like

¹ *Langton*, or perhaps *Langdon* was a Widow of Edmund Haynes. was the original family Name, but ² The whole Story about the cutting of Puddings is set in the last Leaf.— *Note by Mr. Pynchon.*

another on y^e 23 ffeb. as smooth as any Knife could cut it, namely, one Slice al alonge, wantinge but very litle, from End to End.

Also Hannah the Wife of George Lancton faith vppon Oath, that a Neighbor came in, and she showed it to him, and that Neighbor took a Peece of it and threw into the Fier: and she faith that about an Hower after, phapps a little more, she herd one mutter and mumble at the Dore; then she asked Goody Sewell who was then at her House (and neere y^e Dore) who it was, she said it was Hugh Parsons, and that he asked whether Goodman Lankton were at Home or no. I said no, and so he went away, but left not his Arrand, neather did he euer since come to signifie his Arrand.

Deposed in Corte by Hanna [Lankton].

Hugh Parsons being asked what his Answer was: he spake to other Things and not to the Question,¹ being asked the 2^d Tyme what his Arrand was, he spake againe of other by Matters, and not to the Question: being asked the 3^d Tyme what his Arrand was, and charged to make a direct Answer, then he said it was to gett some Hay of him. Being asked againe whether he had ppounded his Arrand since to Goodman Lankton; he said he never saw him since. Then one or two that were present testified that they see him meete Goodman Lancton next Day below.² Symon Bemon³ and Rice Bodorthe⁴ fay vppon Oath,

¹ Pity we are deprived of knowing those "other Things."

² At some Point down the River.

³ A Name since written *Beaman*. Savage has "strangely" mixed the Families of "Beamond, Beamon, and Beaman.

⁴ Savage did not find the Name thus spelled, but over *Rice* he raises considerable Mist. Judd (no Doubt) told him that Rice was the Father of John, who "was drowned, 18 Mar. 1683, with his f. and Lydia, w. of his br. Joseph, and Mercy, d. of his br. Samuel."

that the next Day but one they saw Hugh Parsons meete Goodman Lankin accompanied wth Thomas Sewell¹ in the Streete, and that they saw him speak to Goodman Lankton.

George Lancton saith on Oath that he neuer to this Day asked him for any Hay.

When Hugh Parsons saw himself taken tardy [24] in this put of, then he said that he did not ask him because John Lumbard had tould him that Goodman Lankton had sould more Hay to Goodman Herman than he could spare. But after inquiry

John Lumbard² saith vppon oath, March 17, 1650, That the Wednesday before that Hugh Parsons came to Goodman Lanktons House for Hay, that he had speoken to buy some Hay of Goodman Lankton, namly as he passd by where he and Hugh Parsons were at Worke together, and had a Deniall; and then he tould Hugh Parsons that Goodman Lankton could not spare him any Hay, for he had already sould more to Goodm Herman³ than he could spare, and said he should now want himself.

John Lumbard also saith on Oath, that y^e ffriday after, when the said Pudding was so strangely cut, he tould Hugh Parsons that Lancton had no Hay to sell. Hugh Parsons not being able to replie any further, it is evident that his coming to y^e Dore of Goodman Lankton p^rsently after the burning of the Pudding, w^{ch} was the next Day after Jo. Lumbard had tould

¹ To what Family of *Sewell* or *Sewall* he belonged has not been found. Savage guesses he left Springfield soon after the Birth of a Dau. (Abigail) 14 March, 1650, but where he went, or "whence he came is wholly uncertain."

found at Springfield, 1646; the next Year, Sept. 1, he was at New Haven, where he married Joanna Pritchard.—*Savage*.

³ A Family named *Harman* came to N. England in 1635, in the Ship *Love*. This was probably *John Herman*.

² Since spelt Lombard. John is

him that he had no Hay to spare, that his Arrand to gett Hay was no true Cause of his coming Thither but rather that y^e Spirit that bewitched the Pudding brought him thither.¹

Mary Parsons being p^sent at y^e 2^d Examination, saith, one Reason why I have suspected my Husband to be a Witch is because all that he sells to Anybody doth not prosper. I an sorry said she for that pore Man, Tho. Millar,² for two Dayes after my Husband and he had bargained for a Peec of Ground Thomas Millar had that Mischance of that Cutt in his Legg.

[25] Thomas Millar being p^sent, saith vppon Oath, that he being in Company with seuerall other Workemen about Tymber Trees in the Woods, as we were at Dinner, and merry together, Hugh Parsons satt on a Bow somewhat higher then the Rest. Then one of the Company started this Question: I wonder why he sits there: Thomas Millar saith he answered, To see what we have: and then I began to speak of the cuttinge of the Puddinge in Towne.

Thomas Cooper³ being p^sent wth the said Workmen, saith, that he was much troubled in his Minde because Thomas Millar spake so plainly to Hugh Parsons least some ill Euent should follow.

And both Tho. Cooper and Thomas Millar say vppon Oath, that Hugh Parsons was as merry and as pleasant before this Speeche about the Pudding as any

¹ As though the Devil could not bewitch a Pudding without being on the Spot! the Indians, October 5th, 1675.—*Springfield Records*.

² He was probably an Emigrant, although at what Time he came over is not known. His Wife was Sarah, Daughter of Thomas Marshfield, of Springfield, whom he married in 1649. He was killed by

³ The same afterwards (5 Oct., 1675) killed by the Indians, as he was passing from one Garrison to another.—See I. Mather, *Brief His.*, p. 98, Note; and Hubbard, I, 107, 121; II, 44.

in the Company, but after this he was wholly silent, and spake not a Word in replie about y^e Pudding: but satt dumb: and Tho. Millar saith that about half a Quarter of an Hower after, at his first settinge to Worke, his Legg was cutt.

April 3. 1651. Thomas Burneham¹ saith vppon Oath that he said to Hugh Parsons a Little before his App'hension: here is strange Doings in Towne about cutting of Puddings, and whetting of Sawes in y^e Night Tyme: Hugh Parsons herd these Thinges much agitated among diuers then p'sent, and was wholly silent, but at last he said, I never herd of this Thing before this Night. Thomas Burneham saith he said to him, that is strange, that you should not here of thes Thinges: and I being but a Stranger in Towne, doe here of it in all Places whereuer I come: Att this Hugh Parsons held down his Head and was wholly silent, but he tooke Occasion to speak of other by Matters, as pleasantly as Anybody else, but to the Matter of the Pudding he would say Nothing: and yet saith Thomas Burneham, I spake to him of it feuerall Tymes, and of y^e whettinge of Sawes on purpose to see what Hugh Parsons would say to it, but still he continued sylent,² and would not speak any Thing about these Thinges. Then Goodman Mun beinge p'ent said I would y^e those that whet Sawes in the night Tyme, and on y^e Lordes Dayes, were found out: Then saith Thomas Burnham, I said, you Sawyers you had need to look to it: Hugh Parsons being also a Sawyer, never returned any Answer, but still con-

¹ He happened to be at Springfield at this Time, but probably did not remain long. Where he came from, or where he went to, is alike unknown. He may have been of the Ipswich Family, but Conjec-

tures may not be very satisfactory.

² That any sensible Man should have been silent at the Repetition of such childish and contemptible Nonsense is not at all strange.

tinued silent: This Matter about the Puddinge and whetting of Sawes was often tossed vp and downe betweene seuerall P^ons, and many said they neuer herd y^e like: and Hugh Parsons was often spoken to, in pticular, and asked if he euer herd y^e like, but still he continued wholly silent.

Joane, the Wife of William Warrener,¹ and Abigail y^e Wife of Goodman Munn,² being p^rnt when the said speeches were vsed, do acknowledg that they rember all Things that haue bin related by Thomas Burnham, and that Hugh Parsons was wholly sylent, and do testifie the same vppon Oath, the Day and Yere aboue said.

[27] 2dly Blanche Bodorthe³ saith on Oath, Feb. 27, and March 1st. and March 18, 1649. That about two Yeeres since, Hugh Parsons being at ower House, we had some Speeches about a Bargaine wth my Husband about some Bricks: and then Blanch Bodorthe saith that she spake Somethinge about the said Bricks that did much displease Hugh Parsons: Therevppon he said vnto me, Gammer, you neded not haue said Anythinge, I spake not to you, but I shall remember you when you little think on it.

Also Rice Bodorthe saith vppon Oath, that he took Notice of the said Threatninge, and was much offended at it, and tould Hugh Parsons that it was no good Speech; but I haue often herd him vse such

¹ Supposed to be the Freeman of 1638. His Wife's maiden Name was Searl, or Something like it, as Genealogists cannot agree about it, and their great Arbiter does not obtrude a Decision. They call her *Joanna*.

² Doubtless Benjamin Munn, previously of Hartford, who had

served in the Pequot War; removed to Springfield, where he married Abigail (Ball) Burt. See *Savage*, III, 254. The Name is less common than many others.

³ Her maiden Name was Lewis, married Rice Bodorthe, 1646. It will be remembered that Parsons's Wife was a Lewis.

Threatninge, both against myself and others when he hath bin displeased.

Blanch Bodorthe tooke Oath in Corte to all she witnesfeth.

[28] Samuell Marshfeild¹ being also p^eent at y^e same Tyme, testifies vpon Oath, that he herd Hugh Parsons vse the said threatninge Speech to Blanche Bodorthe.

At this Hugh Parsons was wholly silent and answered not.

Then I tould him of some euill Euent that did follow not longe after this Threatninge.

Samuell Marshfeild testifieth in Cort.

Blanch Bodorthe doth testifie vpon Oath, that soone after this threatninge Speech, as she was going to Bedd, and had put of her Wastcote made of red shag Cotten, and as she was going to hang it vp on a pin, she held it vp betweene her Hands, and then she saw a Light as it had bin the Light of a Candle, crossing the back of her Wastcote, on the Inside, three Tymes, one after another, at w^{ch} she was amazed: and therefore she saith, that after she had laid it downe, she tooke it vp againe to try if y^e Fierlight might not be the Cause of it, but she saith that the Fierlight being all one as it was before, she could not prciue any such Light by it, and besides she saith it could not be the Fierlight, because there was a double Indian Matt compassing the Bedd and the Place where she was, so that it could not be the Fierlight, for this double Matt was betwixt her and the Fier: and she saith moreouer that because this Light was so strange to her, she took her Wastcote seuerall other Nights to

¹ He married Esther, Daughter who was supposed to have been lost of Samuel Wright, 18 Feb., 1652; at Sea. The Name is uniformly was Son of Thomas Marshfield, Marshfeild in the Manuscript.

try if y^e Fierlight would not giue such a Light as she saw at first, and held it vp y^e same Way that she did at first but she saith she could not preiue any such Light afterwarde.

[29] 2^{dly}. About a Month after this, she saith that when she was in Child Bed: and as well as most Women vse to be, and better then she vsed to be: yet at the Weeks end being desirous to sleepe, she lay still, that she might sleepe, and she did sleepe: and yet about an Hower or more after, she awaked, and felt a Sorenesse about her Hart, and this Sorenesse increased more and more in three Places, namely vnder her left Brest, and on her left Shoulder, and in her Necke: and in these three Places, the Paine was so tedious, that it was like the pricking of Knifes, so that I durst not lie downe, but was faine to be shored vp wth a Bagge of Cotten Wool, and with other Thinges: and this Extremity continued from Friday in the Forenoone till Monday about Noone, and then the Extremity of the Paine began a little to abate, and by Tusday it was pritty well gon: and suddenly after, my Thoughtes were, that this Euill might come vppon me from the said threatening Speech of Hugh Parsons.

I do not app'hend that I was sick in any other p^t of my Body, but in the said three Places only, and by the Extremity of these Prickings only.

The Widdow Marshfeild¹ testifies vppon Oath, March 22, 1650, that when she *kept* (?) in Rice Borthes Wife, she was not there in y^e Night, but in the Daytyme only: when I went Home at Night I left her well, as could be expected of a Woman in Child Bed, but in the Morning when I came she was in lamentable Torment; she grew worse and worse for two or three Dayes, and she cryed out as if she had bin

¹ Perhaps the Widow of Thomas Marshfield See *Note, ante*.

pricked with Knifes in such a lamentable Manner that I did much feare her Life: I neuer saw a Woman in such a Condition in Child Bed, for she could not lie downe in her Bed, neather doe I aperhend that she had any other Kind of Sicknesse, but that pricking Paine only in her Side and Shoulder.

3^y. Blanch Bodorthie saith vppon Oath, that my Child being about two Yeeres ould, as he was standing neere to his Father, did hastily run to him, and strived to gett vp vppon his Knees, and cryed I am afraide of the Dogg, and yet there was no Dogg there: his ffather asked him where the Dogg was, he said it was gown vnder the Bedd: his ffather asked him whose Dogg it was: [30] he said it was Lumbardes Dogg: his ffather said that Lumbard had no Dogg: yⁿ he said again it was Parsons Dogg: but y^e Child's Meaning was at first that it was Parsons Dogg: I know it by this becaufe when Parsons did after vse to come to ower Howse he did often cale him Lumbard: and euer and anon he is much affrited with this Dogg, and doth often speak of it: and yet Parsons hath no Dogg, neather was there any Dogg in the Howse: but the Earnestnesse of y^e Child, both then and since, doth make me conceiue it might be some euill Thing from Hugh Parsons.

Hugh Parsons hauing herd all thes Testimonies alledgd, stood still at his 2^d Examination, as at y^e first, and made no Answer.

Rice Bodorthie saith vppon Oath, that euer since y^e first Tyme the Child was afraid of this Dogg he will often speak of it and point at it wth such Earnestnesse that he hath often made me afraid wth his earnest pointing at it; sometymes he saith it is there vnder the Stoole, and sometymes it is there vnder the Cradle, and so vnder other Places.

[31] 3^y. Your Wife saith that she suspects you may

be y^e Cause of all the Euill that is befallen to Mr. Moxons Childerne, because when she hath spoken to you about the Bargaine of Bricks that you vendertook to make for Mr. Moxons Chimnies, and that she thought Mr. Moxon would expect the pformance of the said Bargaine: therevppon you said, if Mr. Moxon do force me to make Bricks according to Bargaine, I will be euen with him, or he shall get Nothings by it, for she saith that thes two Speeches are very vsuall with you when you are displeased wth any Body.

Anf^r. Hugh Parsons saith, I said not that I would be euen wth him, but this I said, if he would hould me to my Bargaine, I could puffle him in the Bargaine.

John Mathewes¹ being p^ent, saith vppon Oath, that when he went with Hugh Parsons to fetch some of his *fannell* (?) Bricks, he said to Hugh Parsons, doe not you make more Bricks for Mr. Moxons Chimnies, he will stay with vs now, and then I beleue he will haue vp his Chimnies: Hugh Parsons said, no, that I know of, then said I, Mr. Moxon will hould you to your Bargaine about the said Bricks; then said he, if he doe, I will be euen with him: And when Hugh Parsons made my Chimnies he did often vse the same Speech: and when he is displeased wth any Body it is his vusuall Speech.

At y^s Testimony of Jo: Mathewes Hugh Parsons was silent and made no Replie.

M^r Moxon being p^ent, saith the same Week that I spake to Hugh Parsons about the Bricks, and to his Wife about another Businesse, my Daughter Martha was taken ill wth her Fittes. I confesse also that when I spake to him of the said Bargaine, that Hugh said I

¹ He was previously at Rehoboth. His Wife was Penticost Bond, but who her Father was is unknown. She was massacred by the Indians at the same Time Lieut. Cooper and Thomas Miller were killed, Oct. 5th, 1675. *Springfield Records*, and Hubbard's *Narrative*.

could not, in Stricthness, hould him to y^e Bargaine: But this last Answer doth not take of the ill Purpose of his former Threatning.

[32] 4th Sarah the Wife of Alexander Edwardes¹ testifies vppon Oath, ffeb. 27, 1650, that about two Years agoe, more or lesse, Hugh Parsons being then at the Long Meddow, came to her Howse to buy some Milke: she said I will giue you a Halfpenny worth, but I cannot let you haue any more at this Tyme: This was at that Tyme when my Cow gave three Quartes at a Meale; but the next Meale after she gave not aboue a Quart, and it was as yellow as Saffron, and yet y^e Cow ayld Nothing that I could discerne: the next Meale it altred to another strange odd Cullor, and so it did euery Meale for a Week together it still altred to some od Cullor or other and also it grew lesse and lesse: and yet all the While y^e Cow was as well as at any Tyme before, as far as I could discerne: and about a Weeke after she began to mend her Milk againe wthout any Meanes vsed: vppon this I had Thoughts that Hugh Parsons might be the Cause of it.

Alexander Edwards swore that George Coulton² saw y^e Milke in strang Colors.

Ans. Hugh Parsons faith that he did not lie one Night at y^e Long Meddow that Som̄er, but only in the Spring of the Yeere, eather in March or in the Beginning of Aprill, when he set vp Fencing there, and that he neuer had Milk of her but that one Tyme; and at that Tyme of the Yeere he thinks her Cow could not giue three Quarts at a Meale.

But now, at his 2d Examination, May the 18, 1650,

¹ He came from Wales, by way of Bristol. His Wife was Sarah, Widow of John Searl, whom he married April 28, 1642.—*Savage.*

² George Colton died at Springfield, December 17th, 1699. He was recorded as Quartermaster.—*Springfield Records.*

he seeing Alexander Edwardes about to testifie y^e Contrary, he confesseth that he lay a Night there in plantinge Tyme, about the End of May. I remember y^t Alexander Edwards came to me to tell me of this Accident, and said that he was p^rwaded the Cow was bewitched by Hugh Parsons: but I did not beleue him at that Tyme, I rather conceiued that the Cow was falling into some dangerous Sicknesse; for such a sudden Abatement I tould him was a Sign of some dangerous Sicknesse at Hand: but seeing no Sicknesse followed, I told Hugh Parsons that such a sudden Change could not come from a naturall Cause. [33] 5^{ly} Anthony Dorchester¹ saith vppon Oath Feb. 25, 1650, the 1. Day of the 1. Month and the 18 Day, that about September was twelve Monthes, four Men had equall Shares in a Cow: each had a Quarter, and y^e Offall was to be diuided also: and Hugh Parsons desyred to haue the Roote of the Tounge: but he had it not: it fell to my Share: and a certaine Tyme after I had salted it, I tooke the said Roote and another Peece of Meate, and put it into the Kettle as it was boylinge ouer the Fier at Hugh Parsons Howse where I liued at y^t p^rsent: and there was no Body there but he and his Wife, and I and my Wife who was sick of a Consumption, sittinge on her Bedd, and not able to gett of without Help: neather were any of my Children able to take such a Thing out of a boyling Kettle: this being the Sabbath Day, Hugh Parsons and his Wife went to the Church before me, then I made myselfe ready and went p^rsently after them, and came Home before them: and tooke vp my Meate before they came Home, but the Roote of the Tounge w^h Hugh Parsons formerly desyred was gonn:

¹ He died at Springfield, August died Aug. 11th, 1649. A Wife 28th, 1683. His Wife, Sarah, Martha, died 17 Dec., 1662.

his Wife came Home p^resently after me (but he came not with her.) Then I tould her, and she wondred how it could be gonn: and she went to y^e Tubb where it was salted to see if it might not be forgotten, and it was not there: Then said I to her, I am sure I put it into the boyling Kettle, and she confessed that she saw me pick it and wash it, and being p^resent did much wonder y^e strange going of it away; and said that she feared her Husband might convey it away: she tould me that her Husband went along with her till we came neere to Goodman Merickes, and was very pleasing to her, more then vsually he had bin a great while before: but there he laid the Child downe and went no further with her: and she saw him no more till y^e Meeting was almost donn: (all this, Mary Parsons being p^resent doth acknowledge.) p^resently after this he came home: Then I spake of it to him, and all that he said was, that he thought I [34] did not put it in: but I tould him that I was sure I put it into the boyling Kettle: And I haue euer since believed that no Hand of Man did take it away: but that it was taken away by Witchcraft.

Ans. Hugh Parsons confesseth that he desyred the Roote of y^e Tounge, but withall saith he is ignorant as y^e Child vnborne w^{ch} way it went.

Some by Standard objected it might be taken away by his Wife as well as by him; But that is not so likely because Hugh Parsons went not with her to y^e Meeting, but laid down her Child and went from her, and she saw him no more till Meeting was almost don.

Ans. Hugh Parsons saith, that he doth not remember that he went any whither, unlesse he might go into Goodman Merikes¹ Howse to take a Pipe of To-

¹ Thomas Merrick was among the early Settlers of Springfield. His Wife was Sarah, Daughter of Rowland Stebbins.

bacco, and though his Wife saw him no more till the Meeting was almost donn, yet he saith he might be standing without the Dore, though she saw him not; And, at his 2d Examination, he asked how it did appeere that he came not to the Meeting till it was almost don.

Abigall Mun being p^rsent doth testifie vpon Oath, that she knew by the Talk about the strange going away of this Roote of the Tounge, what Sab. was ment, and she saith that she saw him come that Sabbath to y^e Meeting, when y^e Sermon was well onward.

Jonathan Taylor deposed in open Courte: saith that he heard the said Parsons say (notwithstanding the Roote of the Tounge was desired by Anthony Dorchester, for his Wife, being sicke) yett he said I will haue it.

EDWD: RAWSON *secry.*¹

[35] 6^y Griffin Jones² doth suspect you for Witchcraft about Knife. Griffin Jones saith vpon Oath, Feb 25, 1650, March 1. and 18 Day that when he liued at his Howse neere Hugh Parsons Howse, about 2 y. agoe: on a Lordes Day, I went Home to Dinner, but my Wife staid behind at a Neighbors Howse to Dinner. I took vp my Dinner, and laid it on a little Table made on y^e Cradle Head: I sought for a Knife, but I could not find any. I cleered the Table where I dined to see if any were there, and I ferched euery where about y^e Howse, and I could find none, yet I knew I had more than two, and when I could find none I went to an ould Basket where I had Things to mend Shoes wthall, and there was a rusty Knife, and with that I was faine to eate my Dinner.

¹ Only this Testimony of Taylor is in the Hand of Rawson, all the other in that of Pynchon except otherwise noted. Taylor died at Suffield, 1683. Had Wife Mary,

who died a few Weeks before him.

² In other Records his Name stands *Griffith* Jones. He had a large Family of Children, and died in 1677.

After I had dined I took away y^e Victualls that were left, and laid it vp; and then I laid the rusty Knife on the Corner of the Table to cutt a Pip of Tobacco wthall. But before I cut my Tobacco I first went out of Dore to ferue a Pigg that was but a very little of the Dore, and no Man could come in but I must see them, and as soone as I came in to cutt my Tobacco wth the said rusty Knife, there lay three Knifes together on y^e Table, w^{ch} made me blush:¹ wondering how they came there seeing no Body was in y^e Howse but myself: and as I was going to cut y^e Tobacco, Hugh Parsons came in, and said, where is the Man. Are you ready to go to y^e Meetinge: I said by and by; as soone as I haue taken a Pipe of Tobacco. So he staid and took some wth me.

Ans. Hugh Parsons saith he is ignorant of any such Thing, and in the Sight of God can cleare his Conscience.

It was tould him that such a strange Thinge fallinge out iust at his coming in, did minister iust Occasion of Suspition of Witchcraft: he replied that one Witnes was not sufficient.²

[36] 7^{ly}. Mary Parsons his Wife saith that one Reason why she doth suspect you to be a Witch, is because you cannot abide that any Thing should be spoken against Witches. She saith that you tould her that you were at a Neighbors Howse a little before Lecture, when they were speaking of Carrington³ and his Wife, that were now app'hended for Witches, she

¹ The Fellow was doubtles too drunk to know very precisely what he was about. Contempt to speak of them complacently.

² Here was *common* Sense against *Nonsense*. He doubtles viewed these Accusations with too much

³ Perhaps John Carrington, of Wethersfield, in Connecticut. I have found no Record of the Case. See *Public Records of Connecticut*.

saith that when you came Home and spake thes Speeches to her, she said to you, I hope that God will find out all such wicked Psons and purge New England of all Witches ere it be long: to this she saith you gaue her a naughty Looke, but neuer a Word; but p^eently after, on a leight Occasion, you took vp a Block, and made as if you would throw it at her Head, but yet, in y^e End, you did not, but threw it downe on y^e Hearth of the Chimney. This Expref- sion of y^r Anger was because she wished the Ruine of all Witches.

Mary Ashley¹ testifies this substance, vppon Oath.

Ans. Hugh Parsons saith he does not rember that euer he took vp a Block to throw at her, but vppon further Debate he said at last that he tooke vp a Block but remembered not the Occasion: at his 2^d Answer he saith that he took vp no Block on that Occasion.

Replie: it might well be on that Occasion, for not long since she saith that you said to her, if euer any Trouble doe come vnto you, it will be by her Meanes, and that she would be the Meanes to hang you.

Ans. Hugh Parsons saith that he might say so, because, in his Anger he is impatient, and doth speak what he should not: At his 2^d Examination, he s^d he might say so, because she is the worst Enemy that I haue, considering the Relation that is betweene vs: [37] and if any Body bespeake Euill of me she will speake as ill, and as much as any Body else.

Mary Parsons replied, I haue often intreated him to confesse whether he were a Witch or no, I tould him that if he would acknowledge it I would begg the Prayers of Gods People on my Knees for him, and that we are not our owne, we are bought with a

¹ Probably the Wife of Robert Springfield. The Ashleys were an Ashley, one of the first Settlers of early Family there.

Price, and that God would redeeme from the Power of Sathan, &c.

Hugh Parsons was asked if his Wife had spoken Anything to him at any Tyme to confesse Witchcraft.

Ans. Not Anything to me about Witchcraft that I rember.

8^y. Mary Parsons saith, did not I speak of it to you vppon the death of my Child: did not I tell you then that I had iealousies that you had bewitched y^r owne Child to Death.

To this he was sylent and made no Answer.

Then she desyred Antony Dorchester that liued then in their Howse whether he could not remember that she had charged her Husband wth the bewitching of his Child.

Anthony Dorchester said that he did not rember that euer she spake directly to him of bewitching his Child, but that she had Ielousies that he had bewitched his Child to Death.

Mary Parsons said, that when her last Child was ill she tould him that she suspected he had bewitched that, as he had done his other Child, and said, I haue spoken of it to him, and to other Folkes, together aboue forty Tymes.

It was alledged that he might well be suspected to haue bewitched his former Child to Death, because he expressed no Kind of Sorrow at the Death of it.

[38] Ans. Hugh Parsons saith that he was loath to expresse any Sorrow before his Wife, because of the weak Condition that she was in at that Tyme.

Mr. Moxon desyred to ask him a Question w^{ch} was this: It seemes he had Conference with his Wife about his sick Child, and about her Greefe for it, or else why should he forbear to expresse the Affection of Sorrow before her, that he might not grieue her.

Hugh Parsons saith that his Wife might wonder at it, but yet that was the true Reason of it.

It was asked him why he did not show more Respect to his Wife and Child, but went into the long Meddow and lay there all Night when his Child lay at the Point of Death, and when he herd of the Death of it he next Morning neuer shewed any Sorrow for it.

George Coalton stood forth to testifie on Oath, that coming to Hugh Parsons House where his Wife was sitting by the Fier wth the Child in her Lapp, and she shewed to me the strange Condition of the Child, and I was amazed at it, for y^e Childs Secretts did rott, or were consuming: and she said, though my Child be so ill, and I haue much to do with it, yet my Husband keepes adoe at me to help him about his Corne: I said to her, y^e Husband had more need to get you some Help then to keepe adoe at you to help him: and she spake very harsh Things against him before his Face; and if he had bin inocent he would haue blamed her for her Speeches, for she spake such Things against him as are not ordinary for P^{ers}ons to speak one of another, and yet he beinge p^{re}sented said Nothing for himself in way of blaminge any Thing that she had spoken against him.

Sworne in Corte.

It was also objected to Hugh Parsons, that if he had bin inocent about the Death of his Child, he would haue reprobued her Speeches.

[39] Ans. Hugh Parsons saith that he had such Speeches from her dayly, and therefore he made the best of it now, and he also saith, I sett her not about Bu^siness, I required none at her Hands, except it were to throw in some Indian Corn from y^e Dore. I haue often blamed her for doinge Worke, and bidd her do lesse.

Anthony Dorchester, who liued in their Howse,

stood forth to testifie that he neuer knew him blame her for doinge to much Worke, except (saith he) that she helped my Wife at any Tyme, w^{ch} Worke did not bring in any pffit to him. But, saith Anthony Dorchester, he need not say that he forebore Greefe for his sick Child before his Wife, for feare it should trouble her in her weak Condition, for he neuer feared eather to greeue or displease his Wife any Tyme.

Being asked whether he did euer do any Thing to comfort his Wife in her Sorrow for y^e Death of her Child, he answered not.

Mary Parsons said no, he did Nothing to comfort me, but still, when he came Home he kept adoe at me to throw in the Corne from the Dore, and when I saw my Husband in this Frame, it added more Greefe to my Sorrow.

Anthony Dorchester saith, I saw Nothing he did to comfort his Wife, but he did often blame her that she did not throw in the Corne from the Dore.

It was evidenced by George Coulton vppon Oath, that he shewed no naturall Sorrow for y^e Death of his Child when he first herd of it in y^e longe Meddow.

Jonathans Burtes Testimony vppon Oath was for the Tyme of the Morning when he brought Word to Hugh Parsons of the Death of his Child: Jonathan saith it was as he thought, about eight or nine a Clock in the Morning; and the Place where he was first tould of y^e Death of it was at a great Oake [40] about 16 or 20 Poles from George Coulton's Howse.

George Coulton testifies vppon Oath, March. 1. and March 18, 1650, that Hugh Parsons came into y^e long Meddow when his Child lay at y^e Point of Death; and that hauing Word of y^e Death of it the next Morning, by Jonathan Burt, he was not affected wth it, but he came, after a light Manner, rushing into my Howse, and said, I here my Child is dead: but I will

cutt a Pipe of Tobacco first before I goe Home: and after he was gown my Wife and myself did mch wonder at y^e lightnesse of his Carriage, because he shewed no Affection of Sorrow for y^e Death of his Child.

Sworne in Corte.

Ans. Hugh Parsons saith that he was very full of Sorrow for the Death of it in Private, though not in Publik; he saith that he was much troubled for the Death of it when he first herd of it before he came into Goodm Coultons Howse:

George Coulton being p^ent doth testifie, that Hugh Parsons came to his Howse, he thinks, about 8 a Clock in the Morning, and therefore he is very sure of it, that he herd of it but a litle While before he came to his Howse; for Jonathan Burt, that brought the Newes of it, spake of it to Hugh Parsons, but about 12 or 20 Poles from George Coultons Howse, and he came p^ently thither: and therefore if he had had any Sorrow for the Death of his Child he could not but haue shewed some Signe of it when he came to his Howse; but he saith that both he and his Wife discerned no Signe of Sorrow at all.

Sworne in Corte.

Hugh Parsons desyred that Goodman Cooly would testifie whether he was not affected wth the Death of his Child when he came to speak to him to go to the Buriall of it, he saith he could not speak to him for weeping.

[41. Benjamin Cooly saith that when he spake to him to go to the Buriall of his Child he cannot rember any Sorrow that he shewed, for he came to him taking a Pipe of Tobacco.

Anthony Dorchester testifies vppon Oath, March 1 and 18, 1650, that when Hugh Parsons Child was dead, w^{ch} was last Indian Haruest was 12 Monthes, he

then living at the Howse of Hugh Parsons, did much wonder that when the said Hugh Parsons came Home from the long Meddow, he expressed no Kind of Sorrow for his Child after he came Home; but carried himself as at other Tymes without any regard of it, that eather I or my Wife could discouer.

Also, Blanch Bodorthe saith, on oath, that she was at Hugh Parsons Howse when he came from y^e long Meddow and he shewed no kind of Sorrow for y^e Death of his Child.

Hugh Parsons saith, that when his Child was sick and like to dye, he run barefoote and barelegged, and with Teares to desyre Goody Cooly to come to his Wife, because his Child was so ill.

Mary Parsons saith, that this was out of a sudden Feare, at the very first Tyme that y^e Child was taken, for it was suddenly and strangely taken with a Trembling, beginning at the Toes, and coming vpwardes, and so it stopped the Childes Breath.

Goody Cooly also testifies, that this was at the first Tyme that the Child was taken. There was some Speeches vsed, that it might be bewitched, for these that are now bewitched haue often Tymes Something rise up into their Throates that doth stopp their Breath: and it seemes by George Coultons Testimony, that the Child was strangely taken.

Mary Ashly and Sara Leonard stood vp to giue Testimony, that they saw the Child in ye Tyme of its Sicknesse, and that they app'hended the Secrets of the Child to consume and wast away.

[42] Mary Parsons being asked what Reasons she had to suspect her Husband for a Witch, gaue these Reasons:—

1. Because when I say Anything to any Body, neuer so secretly, to such ffreinde as I am sure would not speak of it, yet he would come to know it; by what

Meanes I cannot tell: I haue spoken some Thinges to Mrs. Smith, that goes litle Abroad, and I am sure would not speak of it, yet he hath knowen it, and would speak of it to me as soone as I came Home.

2^{ly}. Because he vseth to be out a Nights till Midnight (till of Late), and about half an Hower before he comes Home, I shall here some Noyse or other about the Dore, or about the Howse.

3^{ly}. Because he vseth to come Home in a distempered Frame, so that I could not tell how to please him; sometymes he hath puld of the Bed Clothes and left me naked a Bed, and hath quenched the Fier; sometymes he hath thrown Pease about ye Howse and made me pick them vp.

4. Because oftentimes in his Sleepe he makes a gablinge Noyse, but I cannot vnderstand one Word that he says, and when I did aske what it was that he talked in his Sleepe, he would say that he had strange Dreames; and one Tyme he said that the Diuell and he were fighting, and that the Diuill had almost ouercome him, but at last he got the Mastery of the Diuill.

Being asked if euer she knew her Husband doe any Thing beyond the Power of Nature: she said on a Tyme her Husband sent her to Jonathan Taylor to get him to worke on the Morrow, and as I returned Home in ye Twilight, I saw a Thing like a great nasty Dogg by the Path Side. I suspected it was donn by Witchcraft from my Husband he sent me out [worn from the Margin] but vsually he doth such Thinges himself.

[43] ff. 27, 1650. Beniamin Coly saith vppon Oath that Mary Parsons tould him aboue a Yeere since, that she feared her Husband was a Witch, and that she so far suspected him that she hath serched him when he hath bin asleepe in Bedd, and could not find Anythin about him vnlesse it be in his secret Ptes.

Feb. 27, 1650. Anthony Dorchester saith vpon Oath, that about a Yeere and a Quarter since, I and my Wife liued for a Tyme at Hugh Parsons Howse, and that I haue seuerall Tymes herd Mary Parsons say that she suspected, and greatly suspected, her Husband to be a Witch, and that her Husband once in 24 Howers would be from Home, if not in the Day Tyme then in the Night Tyme, what euer Weather it was: and that in his Absence she hath herd a rumbling Noyse in the Howse, sometymes in one Place and sometymes in another; and that she did much suspect him to be a Witch, because if she had any priuate Talk wth any he would come to know it, by what Meanes she could not tell, being confident that those she reuealed herself vnto would neuer tell it.

Beniamin Cooly and Anthony Dorchester say vpon Oath, that being charged by y^e Constable to Watch Mary Parsons this last Night, she tould them that if her Husband had fallen out with any Body he would say that he would be euen wth them, and then she found he did bewitch his owne Child that she might be at Liberty to help him in his Indian Haruest; for he expected help from her, and because her Tyme was taken vp about her Child, he being egar after the World, seemed to be troubled at it, and she suspected that he was a Meanes to make an End of his Child quickly, that she might be at Liberty to help him: another Thing she said made her to suspect her Husband to be a Witch was, because most Things he sould to Others did not prosper: another Ground of suspicion was, because he was so backward to go to the Ordenances, eather to the Lecture or to any other [44] Meetinge, and she hath bin faint to threaten him that she would complaine to the Magistrate, or else she thought he would not let her go once in the Yeere: another Thinge made her suspect him to be a

Witch was because of the great Noyse that she should here in the Howse when he was abroad; and she said, that last Tufday at Night, when he was abroad she herd a Noyse in the Howse as if 40 Horses had bin there, and after he was come to Bedd he kept a Noyse and a galling in his Sleepe but she could not vnderstand one Word and so he hath done many Tymes formerly and when she asked him what he ayled, he would say he had strange Dreames, and one Tyme he said that the Diuill and he were a fighting, and once he had almost ouercome him, but at last he ouercome the Diuill.

ffrancis Pepper saith vppon Oath: when I came to see Mary Parsons that Sabbath that she kept at Robert Ashlies Howse, as soone as she saw me she said vnto me, y^e Heffer was bewitched. I asked her how she could tell, she said her Husband had bewitched it, and now he had bewitched me, and he knows now what I say, and he now terrifies me in this Place, striking her Hand vppon her Thigh.

Feb. 27, 1650. Mary the Wife of Robert Ashly saith vppon Oath, that Mary Parsons was at her Howse, last Lecture Day was Sen'ight, before Meeting, and among other Speeches she said, as for the Death of Mr. Smithes Children,¹ it lay very sad vppon her, very, she said because my Husband would haue had me to haue nursed his Children: but, said she, doth Any one think me a fitt Nurse for them: I asked her why he would haue her to nurse them: she said for Luker and Gaine; one may well know his Reason: after this she fetched a great Sigh and said, litle doth Any one think how the Death of those Children lies

¹ Mary, Dau. of Mr. Henry Smith, died 24th June, 1648; Smith, buried at Springfield, Nov. Sarah, died 30 June, 1648. — 9th, 1641; Margaret, Dau. of Mr. *Springfield Records.*

vppon me: and she said it was her neere Relation; but, said she, it is better for others to bring him out then for me, but I can speak a great Deale of him if others bring him out.

Mary Parsons was asked what Grounde she had to think that her Husband bewitched Mr. Smithes Children: because, my Husband would often say that he would be euen wth Mr. Smith if he denied to let him haue any Pease, or to plow his Ground or to do any other Thing for him that he desyred: he would often say I would be euen wth him.

[45] John Lumbard saith vppon Oath, March 17, 1650, that one Day the last summer he sett a Trowell and a stick, w^{ch} he vsed to hould to his Clay when he dawbed, on y^e Ground iust without his Dore: after this two Indians came in, and also p^ently went away againe; then I also went out to look for my Trowell: and there was my said Stick but my Trowell was gone: I and my Wife sought for it very narrowly, both in that Place and also within the Howse, and could not find it: But about two Dayes after, as Hugh Parsons was at the Dore of my Howse I saw the said two Indians, and I called them to ask them for my Trowell: said Hugh Parsons what do you want, I said they haue stolen my Trowell: said Hugh Parsons look, here it is, and there it was in the very Place where I laid it. I did not see him lay it there, but I do really think it came there by Witchcraft.

Hugh Parsons answered, that he cannot remember that he laid it there. John Lumbard saith that the Reason why he did not ask him how it came there was because he had bin at Hugh Parsons but the Day before to borrow a Trowell, to make an end of his Daugbing, for that Trowell he had left was Goodman Lanktons. Hugh Parsons at this stood dumb and answered no more.

John Mathewes faith vppon Oath, Feb. 27, 1650, that a little before the Tryall wth y^e Widdow Marshfeild, w^{ch} was about May, 1649, being in Talk with Mary Parsons about Witches, she said to me that her Husband was a Witch: I asked her how she [46] knew it, she said the Diuill came to him in y^e Night, at the Bed, and suckt him one Night and made him cry out one Tyme, she could not tell what it should be else but the Diuill. She said also that her Husband was often tormented in his Bowells, and cryed out as though he were pricked with Pins and Daggers, and I know not what else it should be, vnlesse it were the Diuill that should torment him so.

March 3, 1650. Thomas Merick, the Constable faith vppon Oath, that this last Night, towards Morning, Hugh Parsons lyenge by the Fier Side said to him two seuerall Tymes Good[Man?] now come and lance my Belly, for I am in lamentable Paine or Torment. I said to him, if you will goe forth to ease y^rlse Ile take of y^e Chaines and let you goe: he said, no, I haue no need that way.

Hugh Parsons answer March 18, that he had a Paine in his Belly, but did not speak of lancing it.¹

Sarah, the Wife of Thomas Merick stood forth, and testified that all her Husband had testified was true.

[47] April 3^d, 1651. Thomas Cooper faith vppon Oath that being appointed to watch Mary Parsons, about mid March last, among other Things she tould me that she was now hampered for relatinge so much as she had don against her Husband at Mr. Pynchons. But, said she, if that dumb Dogg could but haue spoken it would haue bin better wth me then it is: but

¹ The "lancing it" was unquestionably thrown in by the Constable to give his Testimony more importance.

said she if I might but speak wth him before Mr. Pynchon, Face to Face, I would make that dumb Dogg to speak. I said to her why do you speak so of y^e Husband; me thinkes, if he were a Witch there would some apparant Signe or Mark of it appere vpon his Body, for they say Witches haue Teates vpon some pt or other of their Body, but as far as I heere there is not any such apparant Thing vpon his Body. She answered, it is not alwayes so: but, said she, why do I say so, I haue no Skill in Witchery: but, said she, why may it not be with him as it was with me; that Night that I was at Goodman Ashlies: the Diuill may come into his Body only like a Wind, and so goe forth againe, for so the Diuill tould me that Night, (for I think I should haue bin a Witch afore now but that I was afraid to see the Diuill, lest he should fright me.) But the Diuill tould me that I should not Feare that, (I will not come in any Apparition, but only come into thy Body like a Wind, and trouble thee a litle While, and pⁿtly go forth againe:) and so I consented; and that Night I was with my Husband and Goodwife Mericke and Bessie Sewell, in Goodman Stebinges his Lott: and we were sometymes like Catts and sometymes in our owne shape, and we were a plodding for some good Cheere; and they made me to go barefoote and mak the Fiers, because I had declared so much at Mr. Pynchons.¹

[48] April 7, 1651. Jonathan Taylar saith vpon Oath, that in y^e Day that Mary Parsons was first examined, Hugh Parsons came to me to Merickes Barne, and desyred to aske me a Question, and to tell him who were his Accusers: I said I cannot tell: said he, why

¹ Had not the Brains of Magistrate and People been turning those of the Accused, she would have been treated as one entirely bereft of Reason.

do you say so, you can tell, I know you can tell. Was it euer known, said he, that a Man should be accused and not know his Accusers: Tell me who they are, for what euer you tell me shall be as in y^e owne Brest. I said I wonder you are so earnest wth me to tell you; you will know soone enough; I will not tell you any Thing; but, said I, I beleue y^e Wife will be y^e biggest Accusar: at this Speech he saw his Wife goe by to be examined, then said he, it is like I shall be examined now.

At Night, when I was ready to goe Home, I asked Goody Meerik for some Beere; she said go down into the Sellar and draw it, so I did, but could not wringe out y^e Tapp wth all y^e Strength I had; then I tooke a Peece of an Inch Board and knocked the Tapp on each Side to loosen it, and then I tryed to wringe it out againe wth my Hand, till the Blood started in my Hand wth wringing at it, and yet I could not get it out: I came vp and tould Goody Merik, and she laughed at me, and said, I am psuaded I will fetch it out with my litle Finger: I tould her it was impossible, then she said light a Candle and go see: so I lighted a Candle, and she and Hugh Parsons went with me, and as soone as euer she touched it, the Tapp came out.¹ I said to her what, are you a Witch (though I did not think so) but I do verily beleue it could not haue bin so xcept it were bewitched. After we were come vp she said let me, see y^e Hand; then, said she, I confesse y^e Hand is very tender, and she said to Hugh Parsons, the Blood stands in his Hand: but I would not haue you think it was by Witchery, for I think the least Child in the Howse might haue gott it out.

¹ There can be no Question in Goody Myrick, but poor Hugh this Case but that the Witch was Parsons was predoomed.

Affore I came Home, and when I was a Bedd, there was a Light in y^e Rome, as if it had bin Day-Light: I was amazed to see such a Light: I thought it could not be Day: I satt vp in the [49] Bed to see if it were Day or no: and as I looked ouer the Bed I saw three Snakes on the Floore, and I was in a Maze to see them: I stranged that Snakes should be abroad at this Tyme of the Yeere: two of them were great ones, the other was a litle one, wth blackish and yellow Streaks: and the little one came to y^e Bedd Side and gott vp vppon y^e Bedd; wth that I strok it downe with my Hand: it came vp againe and I struck it downe againe: then I began to feare that if my Wife should see them, being then very neere her Tyme, it would half vndoe her wth Feare: therefore I did not wake her, but lay downe againe: and then I thought thus; lett God doe what he will: and as soone as I was laid downe, y^e said Snake ranne vp a 3^d Tyme, and hitt me on y^e Forehead, wth pricked like a Needle; then I herd a Voice that said, Death, and that Voice was like Hugh Parsons Voice to my best App'hension; and now I was a little reuiued in Spirit, and I said Death: that is a Lye, it was neuer knowen that such a Snake kild a Man: then it was darke againe: and I was taken with such a strange Shakinge, as if euery Limb had bin puld in Peece: then my Wife awaked, and she said Husband, what ayle you that you shake so, are you could: no, said I, am hot enough, but I am very ill, she said shall I rise and warm you some Cloathes, I said no: but this Extremity continued all Night as if one Limb had bin rent from an other, and in the Morninge she arose, and called in some neigh-

bors:¹ this was on ffriday Night, and I was held so till Tuesday Morning, as if I had bin rent in Peece; one Fitt began at my Forehead, where the Snake bitt me, and ended at my Knees, and then the next Tyme it began at my Knees and ended at my Forehead, and in this Order it continued all y^e foresaid Tyme.

Tuesday being a Day of Humiliation, I said to my Wife, though I be ill, yet I will go thither; I am pswaded I shall be better, and so I was; but yet I haue bin troubled wth griping Paines euer since, and am not after my former vsuall Manner.

[50] April 7, 1651. Jonathan Tayler faith vppon Oath, that two Nights before Mary Parsons was carried into the Bay, I watched her: she said I haue two Things to say to you: one is I forgiue you the Wrong you haue done me: the other is about the three Snakes that you saw: they were three Witches f^d she: I asked who they were; she said one was my Husband. I asked her who were the others, she said I haue pointed at them already: but you will not beleeeve me; I am counted but as a Dreamer: but when this Dreamer is hanged, then remember what I said to you: y^e Towne will not be cleere yet: then said she if you had beleeued y^e Voice that spake to you, you had dyed: but feeinge you spake to it, and resisted it, it had not Power to kill you: for you doe not know how my Husband hath threatned you.

All sworn in Cort 13, 3.

[51] ffeb. 25, 1650. Georg Lankton faith on Oath, that his Wife made a Pudding in a Bagg, and because my Wife had the Child, I took it and put it out of the Bagg at Dinner this Day Fortnight (w^{ch} was the

¹ That one attacked with a raging Fever should dream of seeing *Snakes* or Anything else, is common Experience. That this Fellow embellished his Dream afterwards is probably quite as certain as that any such Dreams may be and usually are embellished.

11. of feeb.) and as it slipt out of the Bagg it fell into two Pieces, length wise, and in Apperance it was cutt strait along as smooth as if it had bin cutt with a Knife. It was cutt strait along almost the whole length: it lacked but very little.

Hannah the Wife of George Lancton doth vppon Oath concurr with her Husband in the said Testimony. Febb 21, 1650, George Lancton and Hannah his Wife doe ioyntly testifie vppon Oath, that they had another Pudding in the same Bagg, that was cutt lengthwise like vnto y^e former, as smooth in Appearance as any could cutt it with a Knife, namely one Slice all alonge the Side of the Puddinge wantinge but a very litle, from End to End.

Also Hannah the Wife of George Lankton saith on Oath; a neighbor came in and she shewed to him how the Puddinge was cutt: and that Neighbor tooke a Peece of it and threw it into the Fier: and she saith, that about an Hower after, phapps a little more, she herd one mutter and mumble at the Dore; then she asked Goody Sewell, who was then at her Howse (and neerer the Dore) who it was; she said it was Hugh Parsons, and that he asked whether Goodman Lankton were at Home or no, I said no, and so he went away, but left not his Arrand, neather did he euer since come to signifie his Arrand.

Hannah Lancton sworne in Corte 13. 3 m^o.

feeb. 23, 1650, George Lankton and Hannah his Wife joyntly testifie vppon Oath that they had another Pudding in the former Bagg, that was cut lengthwise, and as it was slipped out of the Bagg, it fell into three Pts: one Peece being cutt all along on the one Side, and two [53] Peeces all alonge on the other Side: then they sent for some Neighbors to see it: Roger Pritchard testified vppon Oath, that he saw the said Pudding and it seemed to him to be cutt all the three

Peeces as euident and as plaine to him as that w^{ch} George Lankton cut wth his Knife.

Thes Testimonies were all taken vppon Oath before me

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

[3] March 12, 18, 22, 1650. Samuell Marshfeild saith, vppon Oath, that when Hugh Parsons came to pay the 24 Bushels of Indian to my Mother for the discharge of y^e A^ction of Slander against Mary Parsons, that he desyred my Mother to abate 20s, but my Mother said she would not abate, because¹ she herd that he had said the Witneses gaue in a false Testimony. Hugh Parsons replied, well, if you will not it had bin as good you had—it will be but as wild Fier in y^e Howse, and as a Moth in y^e Garment, and it will doe you no Good, Ile warnt it, and make Account it is but lent you: this Corne was paid in Winter was 12 Months, and the Spring after my Sister Sara was taken with strange Fitts, at Tymes, but neuer so bad as when Mr Moxon's Children were taken.

Sworne in Co'te.

March 22, 1650. The Widdow Marshfeld testifies vppon Oath, that when Hugh came to tender the said Corne, he said, I here that you will abate 20^s of the Money. I told him I would not abate any Thing, because I herd that his Wife had said the Witneses had taken a false Oath: then said he, if you will not abate, it shall be but as lent it shall doe you no Good, it shall be but as Wildfier in y^e Howse, and as a Moth in y^e Clothes, and these threatning Speeches he uttered with much Anger: and shortly after, in the Spring, about May, my Daughter began to be taken with her Fitts of Witchcraft.

John Lumbard saith vppon Oath, March 17 and 22. 1650. that I haue herd Hugh Parsons and his Wife

¹ This word is abbreviated *bec* throughout the MS. and never spelt out.

also say that the Corne wth they paid to y^e Widdow Marshfeld for the Slander, would do her no Good, and that it had bin better she had never taken it. I haue herd both her and him say so seuerall Tymes, and I haue often herd him say, when he hath been displeased wth any Body, that he would be euen with them for it.

[4] Hugh Parsons being present answered not, but at last he asked, when did I giue such threatening Wordes. It was told him, when his Corn was paid in.

Hugh Parsons said he did not rember that he gaue such threathing Word: he said that in iustice the Corne was due to her: but because we app^hended my Wife was falsley accused. That was the Reason of my Speeches.


Mary Parsons also said, that when her Husband came Home, he tould her what Speeches he had vsed to the Widdow Marshfeild, namely, according to y^e Testimonies she said it might well be so, for she was falsely accused.

[5] March 18. 1650. Thomas Miller testifies vpon Oath (Hugh Parsons being present) that my Wife being in one of her Fitts, March 17, 1650, she said thus: get thee gon Hugh Parsons, get thee gonn, if thou wilt not goe, I will goe to Mr. Pynchon, and he shall haue thee away.

Miles Morgan, and Prudence his Wife, and Griffin Jones, being all p^{ent}, do testifie the said Speech vpon their Oathes.

Then all the aforesaid psons, and ffrances Pepper do testifie vpon Oath, that it is an vsuall Thing wth Goody Millar, in her Fitts, to vse the Word Sirra and thou Witch.

Prudence Morgan saith vpon Oath, that the 27 of March, 1651, Sara Millar was at her Howse, and then betweene her Fitts she said, look you, there is a Man,



at Goodman Coopers Barne, I said no there is no Man there that I can see, she said you might see him if you would. But now he is gone said she: then she fell into a Fitt: and after she came to herself, she said, look you, there he is. I said to her who is it, she said it is one in a redd Wastcote and a lynd Capp. It is like Hugh Parsons; then said she he points his Finger at me; he would haue me come to him: but Hugh Parsons was gone into the Bay the Monday before: but he vsed to weare a red Wastcote, and a lynd Capp.

Samuell Marshfeild saith vppon Oath, that he came into Goody Morgans Howse the Day aforesaid; and as soone as Sara Millar came to herselfe out of her Fitt, she said look you, there he is: Goody Morgan asked her who it was, she said, one in a red Wastcote and a lynd Capp: it is like Hugh Parsons: and said she, he pointed his Finger at me, he would haue me come to him. [6] I said to her there is no Body there that I can see: she said yes, there he is, two or three times ouer, but there was Nobody there that we could discover, though she did often affirme it.

Sworne in Courte.

[7] March 18 1650. John Stebbinge¹ testifies vppon Oath (Hugh Parsons being p^rsent): that as my Wife² was entring into one of her Fitts, she looked vp the Chimney. I asked her what she looked at, and obseruing her Ey fixed on Something, asked her againe (for she did not answer at first) what she looked on, and she said, with a Gesture of strange Wonderment, O deere! there hangs Hugh Parsons vppon y^e Pole (for

¹ There is an interesting Memoir of the Stebbinge Family, but the Writer had no Knowledge that Members participated in Witch Tranfactions. *Savage* is equally in the Dark. See the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*

for the Genealogy of the Stebbins Family, Vol. V, Pages 71 and 351.

² I find on the *Springfield Records* — "3: 14: 1646, John Stebbins and Mary [worn off] were married.

there stood a smale Pole vppright in y^e Chimy Corner) and then she gave a Start backward, and said, Oh! he will fall vppon me: and at that Instant she fell downe into her Fitt.

Rowland Stebbing being p^rsent, doth also testifie the same vppon Oath.

William Brooks testifies vppon Oath, March 18, 1650, that the same Day that Hugh Parsons was apprehended, and about the same Tyme of the Day that the Conestable brought him alonge by the Dore of Goody Stebbing, she was first taken wth her Fitts, and cryed, Ah! Witch! Ah! Witch! iust as he was passing by the Gate.

[9]¹ Hugh Parsons at his Examination, March 1, 1650, being asked whether he thought there was not some Witchcraft in the Distemper of Mr. Moxons Children, said, I question not but there is Witchcraft in it: but I wish the Sadle may be sett vppon the right Horse, being demanded who was the right Horse, and whether he knew of Anybody else, he said no, I am cleare for myself, neather do I suspect any other. Being asked whether he had any Grounds to suspect his Wife, he answered no, I do not know that euer I had any such Thought of her.

March 22, 1650. Jonathan Taylor² saith vppon Oath, that the same Day that Mary Parsons went to be examined to Mr. Pynchons: Hugh Parsons came to me to Mericks Barne, and said that he had often bin afraid that his Wife was a Witch: and her Examination was the Day before his. Jonathan Taylor also saith vppon Oath, that Hugh Parsons tould him that he hath so farr suspected his Wife to be a Witch,

¹ Page 8 of the original MS. is blank. Daughter, born 1: 6: 1649, which was named Mary. He was doubtless

² There is a Record that Jonathan Taylor had by Wife Mary, a married elswhere, as no Record of his Marriage appears at Springfield.

that he would haue ferched her, and she refifted for ſhe tould him it was an imodeſt Thing.

[10] March 13, 1650. William Branch¹ faith vpon Oath, that he hath often herd Hugh Parsons ſay, when he is diſpleaſed wth Anybody, I do not queſtion but I ſhall be euen with him at one Tyme or other: I rember he ſaid ſo of Goodman Bridgman, vpon the Difference that was between them ab^t a Tree: and I herd him ſay he would fitt Jo Mathewes, ſpeaking about the Bargaine of Bricks.

[11] Jonathan Taylor faith vpon Oath, March 21, 1650. That when I was at the Howſe of Hugh Parsons this Winter, and he tould me that he had bin at Mr. Pynchons to gett as much Whitleather as to make a Cappe for a Flayle, and he was willinge. But Symon² would not let him haue any: it had been as good ſaid he, he had, he ſhall get Nothing by it. I will be euen wth him. Mary Parsons ſaid, Huſband why do you threaten the fellow ſo, it is like he was buſy: he answered againe, if Goodman Cooly or any One elſe that he had liked had come he ſhould haue had it. But Ile rember him.

Depoſed before y^e Court 17: ⁴mo: 1651.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret.*

All the Testimonies thus far taken vpon Oath before me

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

Maij 20th, 1651.³ The Depoſition of Symon Beamon on Oath. This Deponent ſayth, that about

¹ The ſame probably who was made a Freeman, 1648; married, according to Springfield Records, 7: 7: 1643, Joanna Farnam, at "Winfore." He died 16 September, 1683. — *Ibid.*

² Simon Beamon, as will preſently

appear. He was a Servant to Mr. Pynchon.

³ The two following Testimonies are inſerted in the original MS. thus out of their Order, becauſe there happened to be blank Leaves, as it would ſeem.

ffebꝛ last, Hugh Parsons came to him, in his Masters [Mr. Pynchon's] Name, for a Peice of Whitleather, to make a Cap for a Flayle, and that he having his Horses then in the Cart, and going out with them into the Woods, told him he could not now stay to giue it him, but another Tyme he would. Now the same day after, he beinge loaden wth a Peice of Tymber vnder y^e Cart, and cominge Home the Horses set a runninge sodainly, as if they were skared, and yet he saw Nothing y^e should skare them. And as he held back the Thilhorse to stay them, he was beaten down wth the Cart, and if in his Fall he had not put off the Thilhorse with a Kick of his Foote, the Cart Wheele had run over him; it went over Part of his Jackett, and close to his Body, and one of the Wheels ran over a greate Stubb of Pine, 2 Foote and halfe high at least, and yet y^e Cart did not overturne. I thought there was some Mischeife in it from Hugh Parsons, for my Horses had often gon that Rode, and never did y^e like before, nor ever since.

Deposed before the Court 17th mo 1651.

EDW: RAWSON, *Secret*.

[12] This Deponent alsoe sayth vpon Oath, that about the End of last Sumer, he beinge at the Mill to fetch Home Meale, Hugh Parsons being there, desired him to carry Home a Bag of Meale for him; but he refusinge to do it, Hugh Parsons was offended at his Refusall: and when he was gon about six Rod from the Mill, his Horse beinge a gentle quiet Horse, he fell downe from the Horse and the Meale vpon him. He layd his Meale on the Horse agayne, got vp and was well setled, and beinge gon about 2 or 3 Rod further, he fell downe agayne, and the Meale vpon him, and yet the Horse never started to occasion it. He layd vp his Sack agayne, the 3 Tyme, and got vp,

and when he was well fetled, and gon a Rod or two further, he fell doune agayne, and the sack vpon him, and yet y^e Horfe stoode quietly in his Place. And the 4th Tyme he laid it vp and came away.¹

Testefyed vpon Oath befo. me, HENRY SMITH.²

Deposed before the Courte, 17th mo, 1651.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secrety*.

[What is on Pages 11 and 12, is in the Hand-writing of Henry Smith, before whom the Deposition was given. The two last Lines are Rawson's.]

[13] William Branch saith vppon Oath, March 13, 1650. That about 2. y. since when I liued in Towne, and when I went to Bed about two Howers wthin Night, and before I was a sleepe, there was a Light all ouer the Chamber, like Fier, and there came a Thing vppon me like a little Boy, wth a Face as red as Fyer, and put his Hand vnder my Chin, as I app^hended: and I felt some Thing like scaldinge Water on my Back, and then I herd a Voice sayinge, it is done, it is done; then I waked my Wife and told her of it, and I haue been ill euer since. I haue thought Hugh Parsons to be naught and haue bin troubled that he hath made so many [] Arrandes to my Howse for feueral Thinges, and yet I could not tell how to denie him what he desyred.

William Branch saith vppon Oath, that at Summer was twelve Monthes, I went to the long Meddow, and

¹ If the Fellow told the Truth about falling from his Horfe, he was doubtles too drunk to keep on. The feueral Falls must have sobered him in some Degree. He was careful not to tell how long he laid on the Ground before he finally succeeded in "coming away."

² Mr. Smith was then in Boston, a Member of the General Court. He was Mr. Pynchon's Son-in-law, having married his Daughter Anne. This Record by Smith was entered in Mr. Pynchon's MS. out of chronological Order, because there happened to be a Blank sufficiently large.

as I was going before Hugh Parsons dore, I was taken with a strange Stiffnesse in my two Thighes, as if two Stakes had bin bound to my two Thighes: so that I was faint to thrust myselfe forward with great Difficulty: and this Stiffnesse continued all that Day: after this I fell into such a Distemper as burninge Heat in the Bottoms of my Feet that I neuer had the like before, and this Heat in y^e Bottoms of my Feete continued neere 12 Monthes er I was well. I thought then it was some Worke of Witch Craft (from him) and so I think to this Day.

Theis last two Testimonies were taken vppon Oath before me

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

[14] Blank.

[15]¹

[16 to 22] Blank.

[1] Testimonies about Sara Millar and An Stebbings against Hugh Parsons. Taken vppon Oath before me

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

[2] Jonathan Taylor on Oath faith sometime this Winter, on a Night, a Paire of good Mr. Mathews Pajles fell doune with a Noyse, and going out prsently to see the Occasion thereof, could not pceaue any Thing; but going into his Howse againe, it being very darke. Hugh Parsons was at his Backe, his Hand on his Doore affoone as his was of. he bidding him sitt doune which he did. Parsons saying Goodman Collys Boy Nothing but beat my Calfe. his Master will take no Order with him but I will: anon after Goody Coolly came and inquired after her Boy whether this Deponent had seen him he telling her no: she replied I sent him to Goodman Mathue a good Whiles since

¹ On Page 15 of the original which has been given in a previous MS. was inserted the Indictment, Page.

and cannot tell what is become of him, and desired him this Deponent to help her looke him which he did in all the Hay Mowes and out Howses wth hooping and hallouing for him but could not find him nor heare of him: at last they gaue ouer looking him, and y^s Deponent enquired of y^e sajd Goody Cooly whether Hugh Parsons had not met him and tooke Order wth him, as he thretned him for beating his Calfe: and after they were parted a While the Boy came Home, and his Dame asking him where ^{*}he had bin, he sajd in a great Cellar and was carried headlong into it, Hugh Parsons going before him, and fell down [*with mee*] there, and afterwards he [*willed*] into it.*

[The above is all in the Hand of Secretary Rawson, and was taken at Boston after the Case was sent here. It ends abruptly, and no Use was probably made of it.]

No. 2.

DEPOSITIONS and other Papers connected with the Proceedings against Mrs. Elizabeth Morfe of Newbury, under the Charge of Witchcraft.

Elizabeth Titcomb, aged about fifty.² After y^e Burning of Apples at Ensigne Greenleaf, I was soone troubled at my House with a Noyes knocking at y^e Dore which did awake mee out of a sound Sleepe: y^e first knocking I lay still harkening for to hear a Voice, and none I heard: I thought Somebody did want my

¹ The Words between these * * am unable to make them all out. are written on the outer Margin of the Paper and then erased (but wherefore does not appear), and I

² William Titcomb married Elizabeth Stevens, March 3^d, 1654. She was his second Wife.

help knocking a second Time; but I heard no Voyce: a third Time I heard knocking; then I went forth, and called to my Daughter Lydia: asked her if shee did heare y^e Noyes. Shee said, Yes. Then I opened my Chamber Dore, and saide, Who are you? What is your busines? But no Voyce. So I considered y^t I had no Call to goe to y^e Dore, and begg'd of God to give mee Rest: but I was much disturbed by the vyolent Motion of a Creature which I did never know before nor since.

Lydia Titcomb affirmeth the same about the Noyes. The same Peniel Titcome¹ affirms.

[*The last Paragraph is in the Autograph of Mr. John Woodbridge, the Commissioner.*]

The Deposition of Jonathan Woodman,² aged aboute thirty five Yeres, who testifieth and saith, that, aboute seuen Yers agoe, beeing going Home in a darke Night from Insine Grenleffe upon the Grene at Wolchis³ Seler, I met with a white Thing like a Cat, which did playe at my Legs, and I did often cicke at it, haueng no Wepon in my Hand; at last strocke it with my fut against the Fense nerre Israll Websters House, and there it stopt with a loud cry astar the Manar of a Cat and I see it no more. I furdar testifie, that William Morse of Neubury did owne that hee did send for a Docktar for his Wife the same Night and

¹ Son of William, mentioned in the last Note, by Joanna Bartlet. He was 29 Years old. Lydia Titcome was his Sister. Her Age was 16.

² The sixth Child of Mr. Edward and Joanna Woodman of Newbury, born November 8, 1648, m. Hannah Hilton.

³ Walsh, no doubt. This is the

earliest Mention of the Name which I have met with. There is no Name of *Walsh* in Coffin's List of the early Inhabitants of Newbury, nor has Savage the Name at all. The Name probably existed there till 1800, at least. Michael Walch there compiled and published the *Mercantile Arithmetic*, first in 1801, a Work of great Popularity for more than a Quarter of a Century.

same Time of Night that I wase troubled with that Cat abouese mentioned, whitch wase som Grounds of Sespition, but there wase Nothing in it, bee case har Hort in har Hed wase don to or three Dayes before theye sent for the Docktar by Somthing falling out of the Chimly. He fordar sayd that shee seme to macke letell of it tell that Night abouese mentioned and then greue uery bad that hee wase forst to send for the Docktar.

Taken on Oath [by Mr. Woodbridge] Jan. 7th, 1679.

[To this ridiculous Testimony Mr. Morfe said, in his Petition of May 14th, 1681: "Jonathan Woodman seeing a Cat, and striking at it, and its vanishing away; and I sending for Doctor Dole¹ to see a Bruise my Wife had by the Fall of a Peece [Gun?] reaching downe some Bacan in our Chimly, which was many Days before this Time, as Doctor Dole affirms it was no green Wound, though [I] neglected to send for said Dole till then."

The most that can be said in defence of that Testimony is, that Woodman probably stumbled upon a Skunk as he was crossing the Evening Ramble of that well known Animal. That an Attack was made on him by the Animal, whatever it was, was doubtless an Embellishment of his Imagination.]

The Testimony [of] Benniamin Richardson aged a bought twenty on Yeares, testifieth and saith, that as I came in the Morning from Cofon Tuckkers, a

¹ John Dole of Newbury, Son of Richard, who came to Newbury from Bristol, England, in 1639. John was born August 10th, 1648, and hence was but about twenty-four Years of Age in 1672, when the Cat attacked Woodman. Dr.

John Dole was the Father of Dr. Benjamin Dole of Hampton, who married Frances, Daughter of Capt. Samuel Sherburne of that Town. Dr. Benjamin died at Hampton, May 8th, 1707, and was buried in the old Burying-ground there.

bought three Weekes or a Month a goe, by the Cornor of good Man Mosses House, I heard the Boy, John Stiles, cry out; and said, the House is a Fire, the House is a Fire. Then Goodman Mos see mee, made Sines and winckt to mee to com to se where I could spy any Thing. Then I went in and went up the Stairs, and then he barckt lick a Dog and yould lick [a] Cat; and then he grouled, and his Heare stood up on End; and than he gumpt out of that Bed and went into a nother Bed, and ther was a Bord that leand against the Chest and flue from the Chest and struck the Boy; and furdor I see a sheap a friueled Hand to strik the Boy.¹

Taken on Oath, Jan. 7: 1679.

The Testemona of David Willer [Wheeler]² aged abovt 54 Yeres or therabovt: testefieth y^t I took Notis of seeverall Passagys: as forst of her akhenf^{ns} y^t she woold vshally be diging and crobbing y^e Ground with y^e Eand of a Staff wich I never took Notis of anny Parson y^t ackted in y^e lieak Manner: forther, y^e sayed David Willir heaving a Heffer abovt 3 or 4 Yeer ovld, y^t came Home ovt of y^e Woods on Day, was chawed vppon y^e Back abovt y^e Breath of a Hand; and abovt a Fortneatt after was chaw on^t y^e other Siead by y^t abovt as mech moor: and ye sayed Heffer grew ill and wold svmtims go into y^e Riveer so deep, vntill y^e Watter tovch her Noos, and she stvd ther vntill svm of ovr Fammelee weer forsed to vaed to facht her ovt to save her from dronding: and y^e same Heffer y^t is above menshened, beeing missing we covld nott fiend her svm consederabell Tieme: after wards wee

¹ This Benjamin Richardson was Son of William by his Wife Elizabeth Wiseman, whom he married 23 August, 1654. He was born 13 March, 1657. See *Coffin*.

² David Wheeler was born in Salisbury, England, 1625; went from Hampton to Newbury, 1645; married Sarah Wife, 11 May, 1650.—*Coffin*.

fovnd her in a ovt Hovse y' had no other Passege anny other Way bvt a small Gap we had cvtt for small Caves: *and I was verely perswaded that the Heifer was bewitched, and Goodwife Morfe was the Occasion of it.* Taken on Oath, Jan. 7th, 1679.

[*The Addition in Italics is in the Hand of Mr. Woodbridge.*]

The Deposition of Johua Richardson,¹ aged a bought thirty Years: testifieth and saith, that a bought five Years a goe, then I had three Sheep to driue to Hamton: and when I came doune the Street I thought it best to cech my Sheep at good Man Morffes Barne, becase it was neare my Canue that was to carry them our the riuer; and good Man Mors Cow House Dore stood open next the Hie Way, and I loock in and I saw Nothing there: so I droue my Sheep into the Cowhouse, and as I was a ceching the Sheep, Gooddi Morfe came out, and was mighty with mee: and said I had better aske Leaue, and I went away with my Sheap: and when I came to Hamton, abought to Ours after, the Sheep weare all sick, and did some at the Mouths, and one of them died presently; and they askt mee where I cecht the Sheep? and I tould them in Mors Cow Hous; and they said they did beleue they wer bewicht, and so do I to.

Taken on Oath, Jan. 7th, 1679.

[*In the Autograph of the Deponent. The last Line by Woodbridge.*]

[To the Testimony of Joshua Richardson, Mr. Morfe replies (in his Petition before mentioned), as to his "loofing a Shepe, and his taking it forth off our Yeard, and my Wife should say you might have asked Leave, and whether overdriving it or what, now to bring it in I hope will be considered."

¹ A Joshua Richardson of New- January, 1679. She died 7 March, bury married Mary Parker, 31 1685.—*Coffin.*

That Richardfon caused the death of his Sheep by overdriving them on a hot Day, might have been a common-sense Explanation, if *Witchcraft* had not taken the Place of common Sense in the bewildered Brains of the People.]

The Testimony of Caleb Moody,¹ aged 42 Yearse, testphieth and sayeth, that I having lived nere to Elizabeth Mors about twenty Yeers, I haue lost feurall Catell in a usiall [*sic*] maner. About 16 Years a goe I had sune difrans with the seyd Mose; the next Morning one of my best Hogs lay deed in the Yrd, and no natrial Case, that I know of: at another Time the sayd Elisebeth Mors came to me leat of a Satrdye Nite and desird me to goe to Mr. Wodbg his Store to se after her Husbnd. I tould her I did not aprhd any Denger of hime. The next Morning I sent my eldest Sone to the House to inquier whether her Husbnd was come Home. The Lad came home and tould me that he was come Home, and that she the sayd Elizabeth Morfe tould hime that I had ben as good I had gone to loke after her Husband. That uery Morning, as I was afterwards informed by John Ordwaye,² that as he was driuing out the Flock of Shep, that he then cept, one of my Sheepe laye done and dyed. At another Time I had a Cowe wase fudenly tacken in a uery stronge Maner, and tumled ovr Logs that layd in the Yord, and strived to turne reerd upon her Heade, and so continued a while, and

¹ He was son of William Moody, who came from Ipswich old England, to Newbury, in 1635. See *Founders of New England*, 70. His second Wife was Judith Bradbury, whom he married 9 Nov., 1665. He died 25 August, 1698, aged 61. On the List of Passengers his Name stands *Moudy*.

² The Father of this John Ordway, named James, came from Wales it is said, but at what Time he arrived in New England is not known. John married Mary Godfrey, December 5th, 1681, and had a large Family of Children. — *Coffin*. The Name may originally have been *Hardway*.

rose vp agayne, and went awaye. After this I sawe the same Cowe coming doune the Hill by Wm. Morfes House, and I sawe the seied Elizabeth Morfe stand without the Doare, and my Cowe fall in to the like strange Condition, as she did before, and tumbled into a Guter or Guly that was worne with the Runing of the Water: after she recoured and went awaye Home. At another Time, of a Sabath Daye Morning, one of my Cous, great with Calfe, was turnd in to the Stale with her Head under her, stone dead; in such a Maner that I could not thinke it posable for a Cow to pute herself in to such a Place, but conclud the Diuell by some Infrement did it; and seurall that saw it did saye they were of the same Minde, or Wrds to that Porpose. At an other Time, about thre or four Yers a goe, in the Sumer Time, I had a fouryeareold Hefer that was brout out of the Woods with a Calf about thre Wecks old, and I [put] theme into my Pastir, neere to the sayed Morfes House, and let her goe there 2 or 3 Dayes with her Calf, to use to the Plaese. Then I went to teacke awaye the Calf to kill it, the Heifer seemed to take no Notis of the Calf when I fetchd it a waye, whitch maed me to maruill, cease she was uery fond of her Calf; after the Calf was kild I went to se what wase the Mater with the Heifer, and she was leyd doune in a shedy Plase among Thorne Bushes, and would nether eat nor chew her Coad for sevrall Dayse; and as I was trying to get er Hed vp I saw the seied Elisbeth Mors within about 5 or 6 Rods of; so I drove the Heifer a waye, but she would not feed; after words I went agyne to see what would become of her, and she wase layd doune agayne in the same Plase and I loked vp and saw the sayed Elizabeth Morfe nere the same Plase wher I had sene her before, and this I did, to the best of my Memery three or four Times; the Heifer lay ner the

same Plase, and the sayed Elizabeth Mors was with in Sight. I do not rememer that I did se her come or goe a waye, but saw her at onse whitch did meack me uery mutch suspect she had bewitched my Heifer; farther I do testiphie that about a Munth or fve Weeks a goe, W^m. Foning boroued my Meore to goe to Mill and being in my Paster neere to the seyd Morfes House, after Soneseat, I herd W^m. Foning [Faning] at the seyd Mosfes Barne talking with him about John Stiles, and I herd the sayd Foning threaten to breack his Bonse. The next Morning John Hall came over to my House and tould me that W^m. Foning had cald at his House before Daye and tould him that he was muth frited with a Cat in Capt. Peerfes Pastur.

Taken on Oath Jan. 7th, 1679. [By Mr. Woodbridge.]

[In the Handwriting of the Deponent.]

[To the shocking Nonsense of Caleb Moody, brought up after a Lapse of some ten Years, Mr. Morfe makes the following mild Reply (in the before-mentioned Petition): "As to what befel him in and about his not seeing my Wife: that his Cow making no Hast to hir Calfe, which wee are ignorant of, it being so long since; and [he] being in Church Communion with us, should have spoken of it like a Christian and yⁿ proceeded so as wee might have given an Answer in less Time yⁿ tenn Yeares. Wee are ignorant y^t he had a Shepe so dyed. And his Wife, known to be a Pretious Godly Woman, yt hath oftne spoken to hir Husband not to be so uncharitable, and have and doe carry it like a Christian with a due Respect in her Carridge towards my Wife all along."]

The Testemony of W^m. Faning, aged about 36 Yeers, testiphieth and sayeth, that about a Month or five Weeks agoe, liuing neere to Wiliam Morfes, in the

Euning, quickly after Sone feat, I saw John Stiles standing by Mr. Denisons Couehous and I asked him what was the best News att their House, and he tould mee that there was feuerall Hundreds of Diuels in the Eyer,¹ and they would be att their House by and by, and they would be att my Hous a non: and that very Night ey [I] went to Sargent Moodeys Hous, which is my Neighbor, and borrowed his Mare to go to Mill; and I went to Mill with two Bushels of Corn and got it ground; and when I came back againe, in John Hals Pasture, the Mare began to startell and snort, and rared vp on End, so that I could not gett her forward; and I loocked downe vpon the Mars Head I spied a great whit Cat without a Tayl vpon my Brest and she had fast hold of my Neckcloth and Coat. I haueing a good Stick in my Hand, I stroock her off. And againe the Cat was a coming up vpon my left Side, I tooock my Stick in my left Hand and stroock her down againe; then I alighted, and as soon as I alighted the Catt came between my Legs, so that I could not well go forward; and watching my Opportunity I stroock her a uery great Blow up against a Tree, and after that I stroock her another Blow which made her lay for dead, and I went presently to John Hals House, and he was abed. I caled to him and desired him that he would go to futch a Tree and there I thought he would find a dead Catt, and I went straight way Home and told my Wife, and tould her what I had met with all.

Taken on Oath Jan. 7th, 1679. [By Mr. Woodbridge.]

[The above, as far as the Mention of "Mr. Denison Couehouse," is in the Hand of Caleb Moody.]

¹ Perhaps now *eyre*; if so, the the Devils were *on their way*. But Meaning of the Word is plain, viz: possibly he meant *in the air*.

[Morfe's Answer to Fanning's Testimony could not have been very satisfactory to himself. It seems to have been dictated with as little Sense as the Testimony. It is thus reported in the Petition: "To William Fanning should say my Boy said the Devill was at his Howse. Upon Fannings saying to the Boy y^e Devill was at their Howse, and he would have me chide y^e Boy, which I tould said Fanning y^e Boy might be instructed to know y^e Devill was every where, though not at our Howse, and should not in Time of Affliction upbraid him to our Griefe."

Perhaps Whiskey may not have been in Use in those Days, but Something quite as electrifying no doubt had affected the Imagination of Fanning. He had a Wife and several Children. His Wife was Elizabeth Allen, whom he married 24th of March, 1668.]

John Mighell,¹ aged about 44 Yeares, testifieth, that about ten Years since, I wente to William Mosses House to worke, by the order of Jonathan Mose, the Sone of William Mors. I went to hew Shingell, and at Night when I was going Home Gooddi Mors did ueri much urge me to stay all Night, and help hir Sone the next Day; in somutch that I was glad to aney Scuse; that I had tied a young Mare up in the House and must go Home to water hir. Then she said, be sure to come a gaine to Morow. So I went Home; but came thair no more, and she sent to me sauarall Times to cum to Work, and at the last thaire was Word came to me, that she was ueri angeri with me, and suddenly, after thair was a great Allteration in my Cattell; thair was one of my Coues that had a Calfe a bout a Fortnit ould, and at Night he was wet

¹ He is not mentioned by Coffin Brother of Samuel, who married among the early Inhabitants of Elizabeth, Daughter of Abraham Newbury. He may have been a Tappan of Newbury. The Name Son of Thomas of Rowley, and is often found spelt *Mibil*.

when I put him up, and in the Morning I went to fetch him out to fuck, and the Haire and Skin was gone of his Back; and it was reed like a Burne, and would neuer heale but grue wors and worfe. At the Last his Eyes came out of his Head, and then I thout it was Time to cnok him on the Head; and another of my Coues got a littel Push with an other Beaft, and the Dung rane out of hir Side; and a nother of my Coues stud in the Medell of the Yard, when I went to ti them up anight, and she could not go of the Place wheare she stud, but I wase glad to let hir stand in the Middel of the Yard all Night, and my Mare was dround, and thus my Creatures were, that I had scarfe ani Creature tha[t] was well; and Gooddi Mors being anggeri with me, and haueing bene talk of for a Wich, I was afeard that she had sum Hand in this.

Taken on Oath, Jan. 7th. 1679, [by Mr. Woodbridge.]

[To this Story of John Mighill, Mr. Morfe says (in his Petition): "About y^e Lofs of his Catle, was y^t he came one Day to Worke and [I] would have had him come another Day to finish it, because y^e Raine came in so upon us, and his not coming, [he] judges my Wife was angry and yrfore had such Lofs, which wee neuer knew of. This being twelve Yeares agoe did amaze us now to here of it."]

The Deposition of Robert Earle,¹ aged 45 Yeeres, or thereabouts, sayth that on Twesday Night last, about to of the Cloke at Night goeing into the Camber where Elizabeth Morfe was shut in, finding her setting vpright in her Bed, she sayed to me that

¹ He was the Officer having died in 1698, if Savage is right, at Mrs. Morfe in Charge. At Boston the Age of 64. There is extant a he was Jailor, or Prisonkeeper. He Genealogy of the Earl Family.

she was very glad that I was come in, for she was in great Troable, and that she thought she should dye for it now, for they were going to find out another Way for Blasphemye. And I went neere her Bedside, and I heard a strainge Kind of Noyse, which was like a Wheelpes sucking of the Dam, or, Kettins sucking, which made me to thinke whether any of the Cattes had layd any of there Kittins vpon the Syde of the Bed, or wheather it might be some strainge Kind of Hissing within her. Further, I testifye, that Yesterday, when I went to fetch her to y^e Court, she sayd that now they say abroad I shall dye. I asking of her why she sayd soe, and whoe it was that sayd soe, she sayd, my Husband, and I haue beene talking to geither of it. And she sayd that I did know what they did say, if I would speake, and such as I that doe know such Things spoke of abroad. Then I remembering there was some did ask me what I thought would be don with her. I sayd I did not know but y^t she might dye for it, which made me have the more Suspition of her calling to mind w^t I had sayd abroad.

He further adds y^t on Wednesday Night last going into the Roome where y^e s^t Elisabeth Morfe was alike setting vp as before s^t, heard the like Noyes tho not so loud and y^e was neere about the same Time of Night.

[The last Paragraph by Rawson. The other in a Hand much like that of Addington.]

To Joseph Pyke Constable of Newbery.

In his Maj^{ties} Name you are requered to seaze on the Person of Elizabeth Morfe, the Wife of Willjam Morfe, and hir forthwith safely convey and deliuer hir to the Keeper of the Prison at Ipswich, by him safely to be kept till the Court of Assistants on its Adjourn-

ment to the 20th of May next who will give further Order: she being presented and left by the Grand Jury for Tryall, as to Witchcraft: and hereof you are not to faile. Dated in Boston: from the 6th of March, 1679.

By the Court EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*.
 . . . sent one W^r of this Tenor
 vnd^rstand came not.

[The above all in Secretary Rawson's Hand. Part of the Minute in the Margin torn off. The following Indorsement is on the Back of the above:—]

This Warrant received in Boston Aprill 1th, 1680, and the Person within specified was deliuered to the Prison Keper in Ipswich Aperill 2^d: 1680.

P^r me JOSEPH PIKE¹
Constable of Newbery.

To the Constable of Newery, Joseph Pyke.

In his Majesties Name you are requered, seasonably to fumon, and alike Require, Caleb Moody, William

¹ He was, according to Coffin, Grandson of John Pike, who came to Newbury in 1635, and on Sept. 4th, 1691, was killed by the Indians at Haverhill. The distinguished Maj. Robert Pike of Salisbury was Son of that John. Coffin has very culpably neglected to tell us what Pike was the Ancestor of. Nicholas Pike of Newbury, who compiled the most extensive American Arithmetick ever published in this Country, rivalling Malcolm (the Scotch Author) himself; a stout Octavo, dedicated to the Hon.

James Bowdoin. It went through several Editions, under the Hands of different Editors, but there is no Edition so good as the first. Joseph, the Constable, married Susanna Kingsbury, 29 Jan., 1662, and among other Children had Joseph, who married Hannah Smith, who, among other Children, had James, born March 1st, 1703. These were the Parents of the great Mathematician, who died in 1819, aged 76. He was a Graduate of Harvard College, 1766, with several others afterwards distinguished.

Chandler,¹ John Glading,² James Broune, Joanna Broune, Benjamin Richardson, Wm. Card,³ Joseph Bayly, Zackery Davis, Jonathan Hajnes, John Mihil, Joshua Richardson, Susanna Gooduin, John Chase, John Ordeway, William Fanning, Jonathan Woodman, Benjamin Lowle,⁴ Elisabeth Titcomb, Peniel Tytcome, Lyddia Tytcom, David Wheeler, Wm. Morfe wth John Styles, to make their and euery of their feuerall Appearances before the Court of Assistants on their Adjournment on the twentyeth Day of this Instant, May, at eight of the Clocke in the Morning, in Boston; then and there to give in their Euidence against Elisabeth Morfe, Wife to W^m. Morfe; she being then to be on hir Trjall for Witchcraft, hauing ben presented and indicted by the last Grand Jury in March last at the Court of Assistants: making your Returne to the Secretary at or before that Time, wthout Fayle, at yo^r Perrill. Dated in Boston the 4th Day of Instant, May, 1680.

By the Court EDWARD RAWSON Sec^{ty}.

[All in the Hand of the Secretary.]

Theas are to certefie the honored Court of Assistants sitting in Boston on ad journment, Maye 20th 1680: that Calleb Moody, Wm. Chandler, Jno. Gladin, James Browne, Hanah Browne, Benjamin

¹ Probably the Emigrant, he died March 5th, 1701, in his 85th Year. He was thrice married, and the Father of many Children. — See Coffin. the Inhabitants of Newbury, and Savage knows no more. Francis Card the Indian Captive may have been of the same Family.

² John Gladding married Elizabeth Rogers, July 17th, 1666.

³ Not found in Coffin's List of

⁴ The Name was changed to Lowell. The Brothers John and Richard Lowle came from Bristol, England, and settled in Newbury,

1639.

Richardson, Will. Card, Joseph Bayle, Zachariah Daus, Jonathan Haynes, Jn^o. Mighell, Joshua Richardson, Sufana Goodwin, John Chase, An Ordway, Will Fanning, Johnathan Woodman, Beniamen Lowle, Elisabeth Titcomb, Penuell Titcomb, Liddea Titcomb, Daued Wheelar, Wm. Morfe with Jn^s. Stiles, wear all summoned to appear att y^e f^d honoured Court of Assistants on y^e 20th of Instant, May, att eight of the Clock in y^e Morning, according to this Warrant, dat: 17th May, 1680. By me
of Newbery. JOSEPH PIKE, *Constable*.

For y^e Secretary.

[*The above Return is on the Back of the Secretary's Warrant.*]

To the Constable of Charlestowne.

In his Maj^{ty}'s Name you are hereby requered to assemble the Freemen of yo^r Towne together, and signify to them that they are alike required to choose and send two able and discreet Persons to serve on a Jury of Trjall at the Court of Assistants in Boston on adjournment 20th Instant at eight of the Clocke in the Morning of a capitall Offendo^r, making yo^r Returne hereof to the Secretary at or before the Time: hereof not to faile. Dated in Boston 13 of said May, 1660.

By the Court EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret*.

[*All in the Secretary's Hand.*]

[*Endorsement.*]

At a legall meeting of Fremmen of Charlestown, ther is chosen Mr. Nathan Heyman, and Mr. John Knite to serue on the Jury according to Warent: P^r

by me^c JOSEPH RYALL¹ *Constabel*.

¹ Savage has confounded the Ryalls with the Royals. The Name of this Family was never Royal we think. If it slid that way after the Time of Joseph Ryall, it is no Excuse for making a Royalist of him.

To the Constable of Boston:—

In his Maj^{ties} Name yow are required forthwith to assemble the Freemen of your Toune together and signify to them that they are hereby alike required to choose and send fve able and descreet Persons to the Court of Assistants on their Adjournment on the 20th of this Instant May, at eight of the Clock in the Morning to serue on a Jury for the Trjall of a capital Offendor: making y^e Returne to the Secretary at or before that Time. Dated in Boston the 13th Instant, May, 1680. Hereof not to faile.

By the Court. EDWARD RAWSON, *Secrety*.

[*Endorsed.*]

Boston this 18th of May, 1680. Then ware the free Men of this Town assembled, in obedians to your Warrant, and did accordingly chuse Mr. Richard Middlecott, Mr. Jeremiah Cushin, Mr. John Wait, Leftenant Richard Waye, and Mr. Thomas Harrod, for to serue as Jurimen. Thay are also warned for to attend y^e Servis upon the 20th of May at eight of y^e Clock in y^e Morning.

By me BOZOUN ALLEN,
Constable of Boston.

To the Constable of Watertoune.

In his Maj^{ties} Name you are required to assemble the Freemen of y^e Toune together and signify to them that they are alike required to chuse and send two able and discreete Persons to Boston on the 20th of this Instant May, at eight of the Clock in the Morning to serue on a Jury of Triall at the Court of Assistants on their Adjournment of a capitall Offender: making y^e Returne hereof to the Secretary at or before that Time: hereof yow are not to faile. Dated in Boston, 13th of fajd May, 1680.

By y^e Court. EDWARD RAWSON, *Secrety*.

Kk

[Endorsement, or Return.]

The Freemen haue chosen John Stone and Recharde Child to serue upon the Iury of Trials.

By me.

JOHN MOSE, *Constable.*

17: 3: 1680.

To the Constable of Cambridge.

In his Majties Name yow are hereby required forthwith to assemble the Freemen of yo^r Toune together and signifie to them that they are alike required to choose and send two able and descreet Persons to Boston, then and there, on the 20th Instant, May, at eight of the Clocke in the Morning to serue on a Jury at the Trjall of a capitall Offendor: making your Returne to the Secretary at or before that Time: hereof yow are not to faile. Dated in Boston, the 13th of said May, 1680.

By the Court. EDWARD RAWSON, *Secret.*

[The Return thereon.]

Bro. John Green of Cambridge, and Richard Robins are chosen to serue one the Jury of Trialls, according to the Warrant.

By the Cunstabell, JONAS CLARKE.

One May the 20, 1680.

To the Constable of Dorchester.

In his Majties Name you are required forthwith to assemble the Freemen of said Toune together and signify to them that they are alike required to choose and send two able and discrete Persons to serue on a Jury of Trialls in Boston at the Court of Assistants on their Adjournment, 20 Instant at eight of the Clocke in the Morning for the Triall of a capital Offendor: making yo^r Returne to the Secretary at or before that

Time: heereof yow are not to faile. Dated in Boston,
13th fajd May, 1680.

By the Court, EDWARD RAWSON, *Secrety*.

[*The Return:—*]

Dor Chester, 17: 3: 80. The free Men of the
Tovne wear a ssembled, and mad Choys of Jacob
Hven and John Capen for this Cort for the Jvri of
Trial.

As a test JAMES FOSTER, *Const.*

The Testimony of Esther Willson¹ aged about 28.
That she living with her Mother, Goodwife Chand-
ler when she was ill, she would often cry out and com-
plaine that G. Morfe was a Witch, and had bewitched
her, and every Time she came to see her she was the
Worse for her. Though too meete were often for-
bidden, yett thay would not refraine coming. One
coming to the House asked why we did not nayle a
Horsehoe on the Threshold, (for that was an Experi-
ment to try Witches.) My Mother the next Morn-
ing, with her Staffe made a Shift to gett to the Doore,
and nayled on a Horsehooe, as well as she could. G.
Morfe, while the Horsehoe was on, would neuer be

¹ Coffin finds no Willsons at Newbury at this Time. Esther probably belonged to a neighboring Town. It is inferred that Wm. Chandler's first Wife was Mary Wilson or Willson, who died, according to Coffin, in 1666. Hence Esther's Deposition relates to an Affair of at least fourteen Years' Standing. Morfe (in his Petition) refers to a Testimony given by Wm. Chandler, but does not mention this of Esther Willson. One

was probably corroborative of the other. Morfe says: "As for William Chandler's Testimony aboute his Wife's long Sickness, and my Wifes visiting hir, she through hir Weakness acted uncivilly, and y^t now to bring it against my Wif, when, for so many Yeares being in full Communion with us [&] never dealt with us aboute any such Thing, but had as loving Converse with him as Christians ought, and knew no otherwise till now."

perswaded to come into the House; and though she were perswaded by the Deponent, and Daniel Rolfe, to goe in, she would not; and being demanded the Reason she would not tell me now, and sayd it was not her Mind to come in; but she would kneele downe by the Doore and talke and discourse, but not goe in, though she would come often Times in a Day, yett that was her practise. W^m. Moody coming to the the House, and vnderstanding that there was a Horseshoe nailed on the Doore, sayd a Piece of Witchery, and knockt it off and layd it by. Very shortly after, the same Day G. Morfe came in, and thrust into the Palovr where my Mother lay before she was vp; and my Mother complained of her, and I earnestly desired her that she would be gon, and I could very hardly with my Importunity intreat her to do it. The Horseshooe was off about a Weeke and she would very often come in that Time. About a Weeke after, my Mother, to keep her out of the House, gott Daniel Rolfe to naile on the Shooe againe, w^{ch} continued so about 7 or 8 Dayes, and at that Time she would not come ouer the Threshold to come in, though often importuned to do it. Then W^m. Moody coming againe, tooke off the Horseshooe, and putt it in his Pockett, and carryed it away: then the sayd Goodwife Morfe came as before, and would goe in as before. In a short Time after, I being at Home on a Sabbath Day, alone with my Mother, I had bin dressing her Head, and she cryed out on a Sudden, G. Morfe, G. Morfe is coming into the House. I sayd I could not see her, my Mother sayd I see her, there she is. Then I run to the Doore twice, but I could not see her; but my Mother cryed out, that wicked Woman would kill her, be the Death of her, she could not beare it, and fell into a grievous Fitt, and I tooke her and carryed her in and layd her on a Bed: and

having so done I went out to see if any Body were coming from Meeting, and ther (though I saw her not before) she rushed in, and went into the Parlour to my Mother, and I stepping out and seeing my Father coming lift vp my Hand to him to come and he made great Hast, and I called in some of the Neighbours, and so my Mother continued a considerable Time before she recovered. In this Fitt, my Mother's Mouth was drawne awry, and she foamed at Mouth, and I wiped it of, but I was very much frighted to see her so till the Neighbours came in. This is all that at present she remembreth.

Taken on Oath, May 17th, 1680, before me

JO: WOODBRIDGE, *Commiss^r*.

Read in Court, 20 May, 1680. E. Rawson, Secr.

[All the above in the Hand of Mr. Woodbridge, excepting the last Line.]

The Testimony of Elizabeth Titicomb, aged about 50 Years.

That shee being lately with Sufanna Tappin, aged about 74 Years, the s^d Tappin related to her, that when Elizabeth Mors was in Examination for Witchcraft, and she being summoned gaue in her Testimony among others. When she went away she sayd Elizabeth Morfe came after her and tooke her about the Wrist, as if she would enquire what was the Euidence she gaue in ag^t her: who answered Nothing but what you spake your selfe. The sayd Topan went Home, and in the Night she felt a cold Damp Hand clasping her about her Wrist, w^{ch} affrighted her very much, and putt her into a very great and dropping Sweat: and from that Time she continued ill, and an itching and pricking rose vpon her Body, w^{ch} afterwards came to such a dry Scurfe, that she could scrape it off as it

were Scales from an Allewife; and that Side w^{ch} she was touched in was most out of Frame; and she is smitten in the lower Parts of her Body after the same Manner that she had testified agt the sayd Morfe what she heard her speake: and from that Time she hath continued very ill, but little from her Bed, and hath not bin able to goe abroad euer since to the publike Meeting. Who also sayth that the very Night when she being desired to goe and enquire of the sayd Topan, what her Euidence was, she had a Beast strangely hanged in a harrow and dead.

Taken on Oath, May 14th, 1680.

Jo: WOODBRIDGE, *Commisr.*

Sworn in Court the 20th May, 1680. E. R. Se^c.

[*All in Woodbridge's Hand except the last Line.*]

Elizabeth Titcomb, formerly seriously telling G. Morfe of the Report that went of her as touching her Name for Witchcraft, and endeaouring to convince her of the Wickednesse for it, she seemed to be much affected with it, and fell on weeping, and sayd she was as innocent as herselfe, or the Child now unborn, or as God in Heaven.

Sworn, E. R., S.

Lydia Titcomb, aged about 17 Yeares, testifyeth, that she heard the Discourse betweene her Mother and the sayd G. Morfe, and the Words w^{ch} her Mother hath expressed; and also, that a little While after she and her Brother and Sister, going home from the Pond where they fetcht water, there flew somewhat out of the Bushes, in her opinion like an Owle, and it came vp presently to her, and was turned into the Shape of a Catt; and quickly after turned into the Shape of a Dog: sometimes would be all black, then haue a white

Ring about the Neck: sometimes would haue long Eares, sometimes scarce any to be discerned; sometimes a very long Taile, sometimes a very short one, scarce discernable, and in such Manner it followed vs some Time, as if it would leap vpon our Backs, and frighted vs very much, and accompanied vs till they came neere the House: and the last Time we saw it we left it playing about a Tree, and we went in and left it.

Taken on Oath, May 14th, 1680, before me

Jo: WOODBRIDGE, *Commisr.*

Sworn in Court, 20 May, 1680. E. R., S.

Susan Topan¹ being examined about the Testimony of Elizabeth Titcomb, before written, testifyeth, that, for the Substance, it is true; onely, there is a Mistake that G. Morfe tooke her by the Wrist, not at that Time, when she came Home from that Meeting, when the sayd Morfe was examined, but on a Sabbath Day after, when she came from the publike Meeting, w^{ch} she might easily mistake her: and she sayth that the sayd Morfe came very hastily after her, as if she runne. And she cannot directly tell the Night when the cold Hand clasped her Wrist, but it was not the Night that she came Home from the Examination. In euery Thing else the Relation is exactly true.

Taken on Oath, May 17th, 1680, before me

Jo: WOODBRIDGE, *Conr.*

[*All in Mr. Woodbridge's Hand, except the Lines signed E. R., S.*]

¹ Probably Daughter of the first Abraham Toppan. — *Coffin*.

Thomas Nolton¹ sayth that when he brought down the Prisoner, Elizabeth Morfe, from Ipswich, she said she was accused about Witchcraft, she said she was as cleare of the Accusation as God in Heaven.

Sworn in Court pr Thomas Nolton, May 20, 1680.

EDW^d RAWSON, *Secry.*

[*All in Rawson's Hand.*]

Thomas Knolten further testifys, that as I brought Goody Mosse downe, she owned to me, that she stroakt Goodwife Ordway Child over the Head, when it was sick, and the Child dyed.

Sworn in Court, 20th May, 1680.

E. RAWSON, *Secr.*

[*The Words, "and the Child dyed," in the above appear to have been partially obliterated by the Passage of the Finger on it before the Ink was dry.*]

John Chafe. And as an Addition to my former Testimony, I testify and say, that y^e very Day, to the best of my Knowledge, yt Kaleb Powell came to take my Testimony against Goodwife Mosse yt I was taken with y^e bloody Flux, and soe it held mee till I came to y^e Court and charged her with itt, yt at y^e very Instant of Time itt left me, and I have not been troubled with it since, and that my Wife has been forely troubled with sore Breasts, that she have lost them both, and one of them rotted away from her.

Sworn to in Court, 20th May, 1680.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secry.*

¹ This Surname is now more commonly written *Knolton*. This Man was Jailor at Ipswich, and died there (according to Savage) April 3d, 1692. As he did not write the Documents with his Name in them, it is not certain whether he spelt his Name beginning with an N or K. We find one of the same Name at Fort Massachusetts in 1746.

[What the "former Testimony" of John Chafe was does not appear, as it is not amongst our Witch Papers. But in Morfe's Petition of May 14th, 1681, he thus answers or explains that Testimony; as "to John Chafe saying y^t he saw my Wife in the Night coming in at a little Hole, and y^e Like, when he himselfe hath said he did not know but he was in a dreame, and y^t unto several Persons he hath so said, though now as he testifies, when my Wife disowns any such Thing."]

The Testimony of Mrs. Jane Sewall,¹ aged about 54 Yeares. Who sayth that some Yeares since Wm. Morfe being at my House, began of his owne Accord to say that his Wife was accounted a Witch, but he did wonder that she should be both a healing and a destroying Witch, and gaue this Instance. Thomas Wells, his Wife being come to the Time of her Delivery, was not willing (by the Motion of his Sister in whose House she was) to send for Goodwife Morfe, though she were the next Neighbour, and continued a long Season in strong Labour and could not be delivered; but when they saw the Woman in such a Condition, and without any hopefull Appearance of Delivery, determined to send for the sayd G. Morfe, and so Tho. Wells went to her and desired her to come; who, at first, made a Difficulty of it, as being unwilling, not being sent for sooner. Tho. Wells sayd he would have come sooner, but [his Wife's] Sister would not let him; so at last she went, and quickly after her coming the Woman was delivered. This, as she remembreth, was the Substance [of the] Discourse, though she doth not remember his very Words: and she supposeth, [that] Thomas Wells and his Wife

¹ Mrs. Sewall was Daughter of Stephen Dummer of Newbury.

living both at Boston can giue more full Testimony concerning this Thing.

Taken on Oath, May 18th, 1680. Before me,
Jo: WOODBRIDGE, *Comfr.*

Read in Court, 20 May, 1680.

E. RAWSON, *Secrety.*

Elizabeth Titcombe saith as to yt Pt of this Testimony relating to y^e sending for Elizabeth Morfe, she was present, and was one of those second sending for, and saw Goody Morfe when she came there, and see a present speedy deliury of the Woman.

Sworn in Court 20th May, 1680.

E. RAWSON, *Secy.*

[*In Woodbridge's Hand, excepting the Parts signed by Rawson.*]

[*On the Back of the above Original is this Endorsement: "This for the honoured Gouvernour."*]

The Testimony of Jno. March,¹ aged 22 Years.
Testifieth tha bout 6 Years since I lived with Jno. Wells, he working then at Boston, and with him

¹ John was a Son of Hugh March the Emigrant, and born at Newbury, June 10th, 1658. He was afterwards known as Major March. His Wife was Jemima True, whom he married March 1, 1679. Hugh emigrated in 1638, at the Age of 20, as given in the List of Passengers in the Ship Confidence of London. See *Founders of New England*, 58. Coffin (*Hist. Newbury*, 309) does not raise John above the Rank of Major, but he

is called Colonel in all the Histories. He was often upon Expeditions against the Indians; had a Command in Sir William Phips's disastrous Canada Invasion, but the Time of his Death is not found. He was living in 1707, as on the 18th of May of that Year he sailed with a large Armament of 23 Transports and 1000 Men to reduce Port Royal. The Attempt was a failure. *Penhallow, Belknap, and Book of the Indians.*

there. Hee sent me Home to Newbury about some Busines, and when I came Home the Wife of Jno. Wells tolde mee that shee did not question but that as I should see Something in the Chamber at Night and at Night I went to Bed and Daniell Greenleaf with mee; and after wee had beene at Bed a little While, and wee hearde agreat Noife in the Chamber. I looked up and saw feuerall Cats and Rats at Play together in the Chamber, running one after another; the Rats after the Cats, and I was very much amazed at it; and a little while after I flung feuerall Things at them but could not strik them. The next Morning, before wee came out of the Chamber I heard Goody Mors and my Dame Wells a talking together without the Dore feuerall Words they had which was uery loude and I hearde my Dame Wells call Goody Mors Wich, and feuerall such Words, which I could not tell the Meaning of, before I came downe, and I came down my Dame Wells came in againe. She asked me if I saw such Things as are before expreffd. I asked her why shee asked mee? she told mee that Goody Mors told her that I had seene Cats and Rats that Night. Then Goody Wells told me that shee asked her how she knew it? She told her that shee heard so,¹ though neither I nor Daniel Greenleaf who only knew it, had not bin out of the Chamber to tell Anybody of it, nor seene any Body but onely ouerheard them talking.

The sayd Goodwife Wells hath professed before me severall Times, that often going to G. Morfe her House to fetch Water, shee hath seene some small Creatures, like Mice or Ratts run into the House after her, and runn under her Coats.

Taken on Oath, May 12th 1680.

¹ From this Point to the End of of Woodbridge. The previous Part the Deposition, is in the Autograph is in a Hand not recognized.

This last, Daniel Thurston, and Rich. Woollworth haue heard the sayd Goodwife Wells affirme, as they testify.

Sworn in Court May 20th 1680 for John March.

The Testimony of John March is thus summarily dispatched:—"He heard John Wells his Wife say she saw Imp o' God into said Morfs Howse. She being prosecuted would not owne it, and was adjudged to pay Damages, and now this is brought in."

The Deposition of James Browne,¹ aged about 32 Years, testifyeth. yt about 15 Years agoe, I goein from my Fathers to Mr. Woodmans of an Arent, met with Goody Mose and Gorge Whelere was under faile; Goody Mose asckt me what uesals it was? I sayd Gorge Whellors. She replied he goes out brafely; but Words to this Effect, that he shoud not returne, for a Trick, she knewe: farder testifyeth that I was one Night at Salsbery, and the next Day was at Goody Moses. She tould me of seferal of my mist-demeners; among the Rest of what I did the Nyght before, and I asckt her how she coulld tell of um? she saide eferey Body sed it was true. I replied to her efery Body ses you arr a Wich: she said to me again, our Safor Christ was be lyed and soe is you and I. John Myrch testifyeth that he heard Goody Mose owne before Mr. Woudbidg that she met with James Broune when Gorge Whellr was gone out. Johnathan Haines testyphyeth y^t he heard Goody Mose owne yt she did reproue James Browne for his Mesdemeners. *Y^e Addition of James Broune and Jonathan*

¹ Coffin does not tell us what James Browne this was, though he has seferal among his Newbury List. He is probably the one who married Hannah —. His Parentage is about as easily traced as that of *John Smith*. See Savage's *N. E. Gen. Dict.*, Article SMITH.

Heynes with former Oaths was by ym sworne vnto in Court, 20 May, 1680.

E. RAWSON, Secy.

[The Part of the above in italic Type is in the Hand of Secretary Rawson. The previous Part is in a most difficult Chirography, and apparently by one of rare Ignorance of all Notions of Composition. Probably in the Autograph of the Deponent.]

[More Importance seems to have been given to this Testimony than to any of the other, judging from the Length of the Reply to it in the Petition:—"To James Browne, y^e one Day George Wheeler going forth, my Wife should say for a Trifle she knew he should not come in againe, which my Wife knowes not of it, nor doth some of y^e Owners ever remember such a Thing as to judge or charge it on hir, but now, but now is brought forth sixteen Yeares after when his Wife said to Goody Hale yt said Browne was mistaken. Hir Husband did come Home well that Voyage; and that James Browne should say to Robert Bedell, yt Powell, whom we sued, did put in these Words, and not himself in the Testimony, and y^e said Browne did oune to his Unkle, Mr. Nicholas Noyes yt he could not sware to such a Testimony; and did refuse to doe it before Mr. John Woodbridge, and Mr. Woodbridge did admire he had sworn to it. And for his seeing my Wife amongst Troopers. What Condition he might be in wee leave it to Consideration. Wee are Ignorant of such a Thing till now brought in so many Yeares agoe as he saith."]

The Testimony of Dauid Wheeler¹ of Newberry, aged fifty five Yeares or there abouts, testifieth and faith, that haueinge liued next Neighbour to Elizabeth Mofs the Wife of W^m. Mofs of Newberry afore^d. He tooke Nottice of many strange Actions of her y^e said Eliz: Mofs, more then euer hee sawe in any other Woman; Part whereof I haue giuen in my Euedence vnder Oath before Mr. Woodbridge, concerneing an Heifer whereunto I would farther add that all the Rest of y^e Breed of Cattle haue gennerally miscarried by strange Accedents euer since, till this present Time w^{ch} is the Space of fifteene Yeares or thereabouts; as alsoe, that y^e f^d Eliz: Mofs desired mee one Time to doe a smale Peece of Worke for her, w^{ch} I neglected to doe foe soone as shee desired; and I goeing many Dayes on fowleinge, att y^e Time, alwayes as to y^e Gennerality, came Home wth lost Labour, w^{ch} my Neighbour Moody tooke Notice of as well as my selfe, and hee told mee I would gett noe Geese vntill I had finished her Worke, w^{ch} accordingly I speedily did; and afterwards I had Success as I vsed to haue formerly. Moreouer, seuerall other Accedents haue befallen mee w^{ch} I belieue yt shee, the said Mofs, through the Malice and Enuy of her Heart against mee might bee y^e Author of by Witchcraft, and farther faith not.

This Addition to his former Oath sworn to in Court 21 May, 1680.

E. RAWSON, Sec.

[In the Hand of Isaac Addington, or one similar, except the last Paragraph, which is in Rawson's Hand.]

¹ This Testimony of David Wheeler is not noticed by Morse. According to Coffin, he was born in Salisbury, England, in 1625, came to Hampton, thence to Newbury in 1645. He married Sarah Wife, May 11th, 1650, by whom he had several Children, whose Names and Dates of Birth may be found in the *Hist. of Newbury*, 321.

The Deposition of Margett Mirack, aged about 56. This Deponent testifieth y^e about a Letter y^e came from Puscattaq^y, by Mr. Tho: Wiggens. Wee gott Mr. Wiggens to reade y^e Letter, and he went his Way; and I p^rmisid to conceale y^e Letter after it was read to my Husband and myselfe, and wee both did conceale it; nevertheless, in few Daijes after Goode Mofs mett mee and clapt mee on y^e Back, and sed, I comend you for sending such an Answeerr to y^e Letter. I p^rsently askt her w^h Letter? Why, s^d shee, hadst not thee such a Letter from such a Man at such a Time, and sent such and such an Answeerr at such a Time? I came Home p^rsently and examined my Husband about it. My Husband s^d p^rsently, What? Is shee a Witch, or a cunning Wooman? Wherevppon we examined our Family; and they s^d they knew Nothing of y^e Letter. Afterwds I mett wth Goode Mofs and askt her how shee came to know it? and desired her to tell mee any one pson y^e tould her, and I should be satisfied. Shee askt mee why I was soe inquisitiue, and told mee shee could not tell. My Husband testifieth that I p^rsently tould him y^e same.

Sworne to in Court, 21 May, 1680.

EDW. RAWSON, Sec.

[“To Goodwife Miricke about a Letter. My Wife telling her somewhat of y^e Letter, which she judges could not be and my Wife hearing of it, there was a Discourse, &c. aboute this love Letter, might speake Something about it by Gueses, and not by any such Way as she judged, and many haue spoken, gessing at Things which might be.” *Morse's Petition &c.*]

James Ordwaijes Bill of Cost, from Munday Morning to Thursday Night; my Wife being sumond by y^e

honnored Court to Boston, and not being able of Body to goe nor ride of herselfe, I was bound to asfist my Wife and bring her to y^e Court, which hath bin verry chargeable to mee; besides my Time to carry her Home againe; therfore I leaue it to y^e Iudgement of y^e honnored Court to giue mee w^t they see good.

And my Wife, Attendance one day att Newbury before Mr. Woodbridge, and reseued Nothing but is at Mr. Turners for my self and my Wife.¹

Benia Lowles² Bill of Cost. 2 Days coming, and on Days Atendans of y^e Cort. 2 Days going Hom,

¹ James Ordway's Wife's Testimony is only to be inferred from Morfe's Petition:—"Hir Child being long ill, my Wife coming in and looking on it, pitting of it, did feare it would dy; and when it dyed Israel Webster, our next Neighbour heard not a Word of it, nor spoken of by others, nor any of y^t Family but hir Conceite, and now brought in."

A similar Case was that of "Widow Goodwin," who having a sick Child "gave forth y^t it was bewitched by my Wife, as she thought: wee hearing of it, dealt with hir about it, and she brake forth in Teares, craving Forgiveness, and said it was others put hir upon it, to say as she did, but now urged by Powell to say as she now faith."—*Morfe's Petition*.

² The Lowles of Newbury were the Ancestors of the Lowells of Boston. The Name was written *Lowle* for several Generations after

the Emigration, and appears to have been the original Spelling. Benjamin was Son of John Lowle who came to Newbury in 1639, with his Brother Richard. He married Ruth, Daughter of the first Edward Woodman of Newbury, Oct., 1666. His Testimony against Mrs. Morfe has not been preserved, but from the Notice taken of it by Morfe it was doubtless as childish as any of the Rest. Mr. Morfe remarks:—"To Benjamin Lowle about my Boy's [John Stiles] ketching a Pidgin; my Boy desired of me to see to ketch a Pidgin by throwing a Stone, or y^e like, and he brought a Pidgin, which I affirm was wounded, though alive." All we can gather from this is, that the young Rascal Stiles successfully played off one of his Tricks upon Lowle, in which a Pigeon was concerned, and which went to swell the List of supernatural performances of Mrs. Morfe. See *ante*, Pages 141-2, 261.

on Day at Neuberey: and two and Threpens charg coming down. My Expences coming down. At Mr. Perkins six Pens: and at Capt. Martials,¹ six Pence: and 2 Shilings 8 Pens of Mr. Turnor.

William Fannings Bill of Cost.
For Attendance at Newbury before Mr.
Woodbridge £0—2—6

¹ His given Name said to be Thomas. Long a noted Ordinary or Tavern Keeper. Whatever may have been his given Name, he was, according to the Account given of him by John Dunton, an Officer in the Parliamentary Army in the Time of Charles I, and Cromwell. Dunton may have exaggerated somewhat in his Notice of the Captain, a Failing from which he was not entirely free. But with a large Allowance for John's Propensity in that Direction, enough is left to warrant the Belief of the main Facts of his Statement, which I extract entire from his famous *Life and Errors*:

"This Captain Marshal is a hearty old Gentleman, formerly one of Oliver's Souldiers, upon which he very much values himself: He keeps an Inn upon the Road between Boston and Marblehead: His House was well furnished, and we had very good Accommodation. I inquired of the Captain what memorable Actions he had been in under Oliver, and I found I could not have pleased him better; he was not long in resolving me of the Civil War at his Finger's Ends; and if we may believe him, Oliver did

hardly Anything that was considerable without his Assistance; for his good Service at the fatal Battel of Naseby (which gave such a Turn to the King's Affairs, that he could never after come to a pitched Battel,) he was made a Captain; from thence he went to Leicester, and besieged that, then went to York, and afterwards to Marston-Moor; and in short, rambled so far in his Discourse, that if I would have stayed as long as he would have talked, he would have quite spoiled my Ramble to Plymouth; and therefore the Captain was forced to leave a great Part of his noble Exploits unrelated."

Some of our Cotemporaries, perhaps to appear wiser than others, suggest that Capt. Marshall may have invented a Tale to amuse his Guests. The Suggestion appears to us very weak. Had Dunton been an American, born in New England, the Doubt might have some Weight; whereas Dunton was more than an ordinary intelligent Englishman just from the Theatre of the Civil War, who would at once have detected any Attempt at an Abuse of that Sort. His Inn was probably in the Town of Reading.

Mm

For two Daijes coming £0—4—0
 Attending at y^e Court one Day 0—2—0
 For two Daies going Home 0—4—0

James Brownes Expenses for him self and his Wife:—
 For hiring a Horfe to bring downe his Wife £0—5—0
 Expenses at Rowley, my selfe, my Wife and
 my Horfe 0—1—0
 Expences at Wennham, my selfe, my Wife
 and Horfe 0—0—6
 At Capt. Marshalls 0—1—0
 My Ferridge at Wemifett 0—0—6
 P^ruiffion and Lodging fince we came to
 Bofton 0—2—0
 Ferridge backe againe and Horfe Meate 3
 Nights 0—2—0
 My selfe and my Wife fumoned at New-
 bury 0—3—0
 For Attendance vppon y^e Service *in toe*
Dayes comin, 2 Dayes Attendin in y^e Corte
toe Dayes goin Hom 1—4—0
This is for comin from Nubery to wittnes a
ginft Goody Mofe.

£1-19-0

[*The part in italic Type is in the Hand of the Witnefs.*]

[*Endorse (by Rawson)*] Bills of Cofts for and againft
 Elis. Morfe. Keep^r of Ipswich Bill, Daus, Fanning,
 Knowlton and their Expense.

Dauid Whellors Bill of Coft. On Days Atendans
 at Neuburey, and two Dayes coming down, and two

Days goeing Hom, and on Days Atendans hear at
Boston: I Spent on the Contreys Acoumpt, at Mr.
Turnors,¹ fix Pens.

The Bill of Cost for Zacaryah Daus.

For two Days attending before Mr. John

Woodbridg £0—2—6

For two Days coming down 0—4—0

For one Days Atendane att Boston 0—2—0

For two Dayes going Home 0—4—0

For John Chafe Bill of Cost.

Two Dayes before Mr. John Woodbridge £0—2—6

For two Dayes coming down 0—4—0

For one Dayes attending att Boston 0—2—0

For two Dayes going Home 0—4—0

W^m. Chandlers Bill of Cost.

In p^rmis: for Attendance at Newbury be-

fore Mr. John Woodbridge two Daijes £0—2—6

For two Daijes coming, a Day Attendance

at Boston 0—6—0

For two Daijes going Whome 0—4—0

I haue p^d most of my Expences by y^e Way, in Mony
out of my Pockett: I am aged, and came on Foot,
w^{ch} is verry hard for my aged Body to beare, therfore
I hope this honnored Court will consider me for my
Paines and hard Trauell.

¹ "Turners" was a popular Inn at that Time, and was known as the Blue Anchor Tavern. Within a Space of a few Years previous to 1681 it was kept by Robert and John Turner (Father and Son) and by George Monck. It was in what is now Washington Street, and on what is now Number 92, or on the Lot next southerly of it.

Joseph Bayles Bill of Cost.¹

In p'mis. 2 Daijes before Mr. Woodbridge £0—2—6
 For two Daijes coming, 1 Day attending,
 and 2 Daijes going Home 0—10—0
 For my Expences coming, and att Boston,
 Mony, 0—6—0

Which I hope y^e honnored Court will confider of
 that I may haue thee Mony againe w^{ch} I haue layd
 out of my owne Pockett.

Boston, 1680. This is to certify that by Order of
 o' Hon'd Gouvernour vnto Andrew Neale for the En-
 tertainm^t and Dyet of fix of us that dwel at Nubury,
 as Testimonys agst Elizabeth Mofs, she being ap-
 hended vpon Suspicion of Witch Craft, and being
 upon the Countrys Account, the said Andrew Neale
 hath entertayned us with Dyet and Lodging, from the
 19th of May to the 21st Day: our Names being

John Glading,
 William Fanin,
 John Chase,
 Zachary Davis,
 Benjamin Richardson and
 William Card.

Each of us 6 Meals, is 36 Meales, and our Lodg-
 ing, and amounts to twenty Shillings as Money.

[Endorsed by Sec^r. Rawson,]—"Andrew Neales Ac-
 count. A Warrant."

¹ Whatever Bayles's Testimony was, it does not appear to have been preserved, and Morse does not notice it. According to Coffin this Joseph *Bailey* was Grandson of the Emigrant John Bailey, who came from Chippenham, in Wiltshire, England, to New England in 1635.

Joseph settled in Arundel, Maine, about 1700; being driven thence in 1703 by the Indians, returned there in 1714. In October, 1723, he was killed by them, being then 75 Years old. He had a large Family of Children, a Record of which is given by Coffin.

We only know what John Glading swore to by the Answer of Mr. Morfe in his Petition:—"To John Glading y^e saw Halfe of my Wife, about two a Clocke in the Daye Time; if so, might [not he] then have spoken, and not reserved for so long a Time; which she utterly denies it, nor know of any such Thing, where she should be at y^e Time as to clere her self." Although a Dweller at *Nubury*, and mentioned by Coffin among the Witneses, his Name is not found in the List of the Inhabitants by that Author.

Zachary Davis's Testimony is given in Coffin's *Newbury*. It amounts to this. When said Davis lived at Salisbury, he promised from Time to Time to bring "a small Passell of Winges" to Mrs. Morfe. He came over three or four Times without bringing the Wings, through Forgetfulness; and was yet reminded of his Promise by Mrs. Morfe every Time. "Soe she tel me she wonder my Memory should be soe bad; but when I came Home I went to the Barne, and there was three Cafes in a Pen. One of them fell a danceing and roeing, and was in such a Condition as I neuer saw on Cafe in before. But [it] being almost Night the Cattle came Home and we put him to his Dam and he sucke and was well three or four Dayes. On of them was my Brothers. Then [he] came over to Nubery, but we did not think to send the Wings. When he came Home I went to the Barne, this Cafe fel a danceing and roeing. So wee put him to the Cowe, but he would not sucke, but rane a roeing away, soe wee gate him againe with much Adoe, and put him into the Barne; and we heard him roer seuerall Times in the Night; and in the Morning I went to the Barne, and there he was seting upon his Taile like a Doge, and I neuer see no Cafe set after that Manner before; and so he remained in these Fits while he died."

Morse's Explanation is quite satisfactory and to the Point:—"To Zachariah Davis. To censure my Wife now for not bringing Quills about 16 Years agoe; y^t his Loss of Calves was for that, when his Father being in Communion with us, did profess it to us, yt, he judged it a Hand of God, and was farr from blaming us, but rather troubled [that] his Sonn should so judge."

Beniamanrichifin Bill of Cost.

For Attendance at Neubry, before Mr.

Woodbridge,	£0—2—6
For too Dayes coming	0—4—0
Attending at y ^e Court one Day	0—2—0
For two Daies goin Home	0—4—0

Caleb Moodys Bill of Cost for atending at

Nubery, my self and Mrs. Gordinge, 2

Dayse before Mr. Wodbridge,	£0—3—0
For Hofs Hier in Monye	0—5—0
Expenses at Rowly for Mrs. Gording	
My self and Horse	0—1—0
At Wenhome	0—0—6
At Capt. Morshels	0—0—6
Ferige at Winasimet	0—0—6
For Expenses at Bostone 3 Nits	0—3—0
For Time coming dovne, atending and go-	
ing Home, 5 Dayse	1—0—0
For my Hors at Winesemet	0—1—6
For Expenses to carye use Whome	0—2—0

£0—17—0

The Bill of Cost of Peniwell Titcumbs Euedens¹
against Elizebeth Morfe.

For attending at Nubery before Mr. Wood-
bridge, 1 Daye £0—1—6
For 2 Dayse coming doune 0—4—0
For 1 Daye tending the Cort 0—2—0
For 2 Days to goe Home 0—4—0
Refused of the Contrys Acovnt
At Quarter Master Perkenfes . £0—0—6
At Capt. Marfhals 0—0—6
Expenses at Mr. Lorens? 0—2—8

The Bill of Cost of John Mortch, Witnes against
Elizebth Morfe:—

On Daye at Nubery befor Mr. Wood-
bredg £0—1—6
For five Dayse coming doune and atend-
ing one to goe Home 0—10—0
21st 3^{mo} 1680.

The Bill of John Glading.

A Day for attending before Mr. Wood-
bridge £0—2—0
For to Days couming doune 0—4—0
A Day at Boston 0—2—0
To Days to goe Whom 0—4—0

Joshua Richardson Bill of Cost.

For Attendance at Home before M^r. Jno.
Woodbridge to Dayes £0—2—6

¹ As no separate Evidence is Doubt for that of his Mother and
found of Penuel Titcomb, it was no Sister that these Charges were made.

For 2 Daijes coming, a Day attending y^e
 Court, and 2 Daijes going 0-10-0
 For Expences vppon y^e Rode and my
 Ferridge 0-2-10
*All that I spent on y^e Countys a Count as I cam down was
 six Pens, at quar Mr Pirkins. At Capt. Massbals six Pens.*

[*The part in Italics in the Hand of the Witness,
 probably.*]

William Card Bill of Cost.

For Attendance at Nebury, before M^r.
 Woodbridge £0-2-6
 For two Dayes comming 0-4-0
 Attending at y^e Court one Day 0-2-0
 For two Daies goin Home 0-4-0
 [No Intimation of what William Card's Testimony
 was is found.]

Thus is concluded all the Documents concerning
 the Trial of Mrs. Elizabeth Morfe in the Editor's
 Possession; showing the Origin of the lamentable
 Affair from its Commencement to the Bills of Costs
 of the Witnesses. To characterize the Proceedings,
 further than has been done in the Progreſs of printing
 the Documents occasioned by them, would be a super-
 fluous Labor, and they are therefore submitted with-
 out further Remark.

FINIS.



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Names are spelt according to their present Manner, generally, in this Index. To have followed that of the Documents used in the Work would have much increased it, as the Names of the same Person are often spelt several Ways; often beginning with a different Letter.

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